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ABSTRACT

Among 51 papers and 3 symposia are the following: "Learning What?" (Andruske); "Stories Adult Learners Tell" (Armstrong); "Towards a Pedagogy for Disempowering Our Enemies" (Baptiste); "Teaching Scholarly Writing to Doctoral Students" (Barnett et al.); "The Outcomes and Impact of Adult Literacy Education" (Beder); "A Feminist Critique of Human Resource Development Research" (Bierema); "Human Capital versus Market Signaling Theory" (Blunt); "Panoptic Variations" (Boshrer et al.); "Animating Learning" (Boud, Miller); "Mentoring Revisited" (Bova); "Qualitatively Different Conceptions of Research" (Brew); "Cohort Communities in Higher Education" (Brooks); "Challenging the Myth of the Universal Teacher" (Brown); "A Critical Ethnography of Adult Learning in the Context of a Social Movement Group" (Cain); "Circuit of Culture" (Carter, Howell); "Role Conflict, Role Ambiguity and Job Satisfaction of County Extension Agents in the Georgia Cooperative Extension Service" (Chambug et al.); "Adult Education and the Body" (Chapman); "Changing Relations" (Chapman, Sork); "Incarcerated Women's Identity Development" (Clark et al.); "Development of an Instrument for Identifying Groups of Learners" (Conti, Kolody); "Novice to Expert" (Daley); "The Relationship of Adult Education Faculty to Their Schools of Education" (Day et al.); "Vital Work" (Deems); "The Formation of Identity in High-Achieving, Mexican-American Professional Women" (De los Santos); "Knowing the Self through Fantasy" (Dirkx); "Adult Education as Building Community" (Grace); "Adult Education and the Body Politic" (Grosjean); "Like Peeling an Onion" (Guy et al); "Cognition and Practice" (Hansman, Wilson); "Negotiating the Discourse of Work" (Hayes, Way); "From Global Consciousness to Social Action" (Hill); "From Motherhood to Sister-Solidarity" (Hill); "Is Our History Bunk?" (Holford); "Adult Education Programs of the New Deal"

(Ice, Nolan); "Feminist Teaching, Feminist Research, Feminist Supervision" (Jarvis, Zukas); "Positionality" (Johnson-Bailey, Cervero); "How Adult Learners Change in Higher Education" (King); "Piney Woods Country Life School" (Martin); "Examining the Impact of Formal and Nonformal Learning on the Creativity of Women Inventors" (McCracken); "Preaching What We Practice" (Moore, Hill); "Are Resources and Support Necessary or Just Nice in Post-Program Application?" (Ottoson); "The Social Construction of Chinese Models of Teaching" (Pratt et al.); "'Dancing as Gracefully as I Can'" (Reeves); "Adults with Disabilities and the Accommodation Communication in Higher Education" (Rocco); "Adult's Readiness to Learn" (Rubenson); "Identifying Research Strategies for the Future" (Sanders); "An Analysis of Self-Efficacy, Welfare Status, and Occupational Choice Among Female Single Parents" (Southwick); "Listening to the Student Voice in Adult Education" (St. Pierre); "Finding a Route into Higher Education for Local Working Class Adults" (Tett); "Examining the Dynamic Relationship among Three Facets of Knowledge" (Yang); and "Transforming Intercultural Perspectives: (Ziegahn); "Rethinking Participation Research in Adult Education" (Courtney et al.). (MN)

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PROCEEDINGS

39th Annual

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May 15-16, 1998

University of the Incarnate Word
San Antonio, Texas

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University of the Incarnate Word
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Texas A&M University
EHRD Department--College of Education

Papers compiled by Jessica C. Kimmel

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UNIVERSITY OF THE
INCARNATE WORD

May 14, 1998

Dear AERC Participants,

Bienvenidos! The University of the Incarnate Word is pleased to welcome you to the 39th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. This is a joint conference, sponsored by Texas A&M University and UIW. We are pleased to show off our state, our fine city of San Antonio, and our ability to host a collaborative and collegial conference.

Here at Incarnate Word we have had a dedicated group of graduate students who have planned all the many details related to being a host site. The students began working in the fall of '97 when faculty and students from TAMU and UIW collaborated on a team-taught Program Planning course. This private-public collaboration in course development and teaching was one of the most exciting aspects of planning this conference. Much of the conference planning was done by the creative students of the Program Planning course and those valiant volunteers who continued through the spring. I most especially want to thank my faculty colleague, Dr. Linda Smith, who represented TAMU and the following graduate students who worked on the many details related to hosting this conference:

> Alana Biediger-Collins, Isaac Campos, Linda Cantu, Maria Castillo, Valerie Chavez, Abraham Dominquez, Sylvia Gonzalez, Larry Gregorash, Diana Harwood, Paul Jolet, Linda Lewis, Lottie Moore, Barbara Moreland, Jean Mosel, Debra Perrett, Martina Porter, Maureen Rauschhuber, Kathleen Stark, Donna Tiller, Ron Wojnar, and Laura Yzaguirre.

Many other graduate students from education, nursing, social gerontology, and organizational development programs are helping by volunteering throughout the conference. I also want to thank the residents at Mariner Health Care who assisted us with mailouts for our preconference. Special thanks go to Dr. Adrianne Bonham from Texas A&M University for her courage and vision in suggesting this collaboration. Adrianne, it is always a joy to work with you!

Again, welcome to Texas, welcome to San Antonio, and welcome to UIW. We hope you enjoy your time with us!

Sincerely,

Kathi

Kathi Light
Conference Co-Chairperson

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Adult Teaching and Learning
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Howdy!

That's what Aggies say.

Thank you for joining us in San Antonio for the 39th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. We think it is unusual (unique?) to have AERC hosted by two institutions. We are even more certain this is the first time it has been done by two institutions almost 200 miles apart. But this is Texas, after all!

In College Station, we have had a dedicated group of graduate-student volunteers who helped to produce and mail the printed materials, answer your questions, resolve problems, and register you for the conference: Thelisa Cone-Nutt, Sue Hill, Deanna Kasper, Deborah Kilgore, Norma Maedgen, Wanda Mouton, Harriet Smith, Amanda Vanek, Denise Watson, and Linda White. I particularly want to thank Sandra Donnelly for serving as my graduate assistant during the 18 months that we have worked toward these days and Jessica Kimmel for editing the proceedings.

Special thanks go to University of the Incarnate Word for letting us meet on their campus and to the faculty, staff, and students who have worked so diligently to make us all feel welcome. The Educational Human Resource Development Department at Texas A&M has had a long and profitable working relationship with UIW, which has provided us with some of our finest graduate students.

We also thank Paulette Beatty, acting head of the EHRD Department, and Jane Conoley, dean of the College of Education, for significant financial commitments that these TAMU components have made to the conference.

If there's anything y'all need while you're here, just let us know.

Sincerely,

Adrianne Bonham

Adrianne Bonham
Host Co-chair

May 15, 1998

Dear AERC Participants:

Welcome to the 39th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. We hope your time in San Antonio will be both personally and professionally rewarding. The 1997-98 Steering Committee in collaboration with the University of the Incarnate Word and Texas A & M University planned what we think will be an excellent conference.

By participating in this conference you join a long tradition, bringing together graduate students, faculty and practitioners in a culture of scholarship, colaboration, dialogue and inquiry. The conference is meant to provide an opportunity to engage with theory and practice in new and exciting ways. It has become a forum for the advancement of knowledge related to adult education; the record of our proceedings is an important resource for scholars in the field. In the pages that follow, some of the finest research going on in the area of adult education will be presented in summary form. Since we all struggle with the difficult choices of where to spend our time during such a stimulating conference, we hope the proceedings will both assist you in identifying those sessions you most want to attend while in San Antonio and enable you to follow up later by reading and sharing with others the summaries of research presented in other excellent sessions.

Each year the Adult Education Research Conference is hosted by a university willing to volunteer its space and time. We were fortunate this year to have two excellent institutions sharing the role of host. The Steering Committee wishes to express here our gratitude to the many volunteers at University of the Incarnate Word and Texas A & M University who have worked hard to make this AERC a special experience for all participants. We especially wish to thank Kathi Light and Adrianne Bonham who have acted as program co-chairs, but we know that their work and ours has been successful because of the assistance of many who will have worked quietly behind the scenes from the preparation of the call for papers through the analysis of conference evaluations.

39th Annual AERC Steering Committee

Jovita Ross-Gordon	1996-1998	St. Edward's University
Libby Tisdell	1996-1998	Antioch University-Seattle
Juanita Johnson-Bailey	1997-1999	University of Georgia
Robert Nolan	1997-1999	Oklahoma State University

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Learning What? Content or Strategies?

Cynthia Lee Andruske
University of British Columbia

Abstract. The purpose of this research is to explore what women learn in "upgrading" sessions in a pre-employment program as they make a transition from welfare to work and education.

Background/Problem

In preparation for the twenty-first century, Canada is attempting to streamline its economy by reducing deficits, unemployment, and welfare roles. Federal and provincial governments believe for welfare recipients "The best social security is having a job" (Improving Social Security, 1994, p. 6). Both have begun reforms to break the cycle of dependency by targeting child poverty and providing incentives for welfare to work, on-the-job training, education, and training. Single mothers are now primary targets, for they are viewed as overly state dependent and "problems" as they are no longer deemed "deserving poor" (Brodie, 1996; Fraser & Gordon, 1994). British Columbia policymakers maintain that welfare recipients are profiting from the new B.C. Benefits package. However, single mothers on assistance find the contrary, for childcare subsidies, bus passes, and clothing allowances for work have been abolished. Furthermore, if women on are not looking for a job, they can be cut from welfare at any time without question. To further divert women from welfare, the B.C. government is strongly encouraging single mothers to return to work, seek training, or enrol in pre-employment programs. Government sees these alternatives as a panacea; however, they often offer a "quick fix" to women striving to make life transitions. In reality, these programs are only initial steps in a long, arduous, circuitous, and serendipitous "walk" from welfare.

Despite the best intentions of program staff and the women, not all go on to "get a job" or enter educational programs resulting in jobs. Surprisingly, women may be worse off after leaving training programs designed to funnel them from welfare into the workforce to get "a foot in the door" only to find themselves in low paying or dead-end jobs as "working poor" (Edin & Lein, 1997; Riemer, 1997). Due to high structural employment, women may find no jobs at all, so they return to welfare or attend another program. Women seeking education often enroll in costly or lengthy educational programs. Then, they are encouraged to take out student loans to shift them from welfare roles. However, when they find no job awaits them, they discover they are now saddled with a large student loan debt. Thus, the "revolving door" back to welfare begins.

Purpose

Despite these realities, many pre-employment programs have tended to help women with improved self-esteem, some new skills, and alternate viewpoints about work and education. Although many single mothers would like to see the programs last longer than six months, they are generally pleased with the opportunity to participate and the assistance they receive. While working with women in a pre-employment program, I became curious about their satisfaction. Thus, the purpose of my research in progress is to begin to explore women's perspectives of their transition from welfare to work and education. In addition to advanced education, marketable job skills, and subsidies, I have a hunch that single mothers learn strategies to assist them in their transition. Therefore, for this initial explanation, I have focused on what single mothers learn during "upgrading" sessions in a pre-employment program: content or strategies.

Theoretical framework

At first glance, the purpose of "upgrading" in a pre-employment program might seem obvious: women learn content skills for jobs or education. However, Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) theory of social practice offers an alternate explanation. Bourdieu (1977) contends individuals possess symbolic, cultural, and social capital acquired from family background and accrued throughout the individual's life trajectory and positions within dynamic fields of social forces. Individuals possess dispositions or strategies for entering, maintaining, and navigating social fields. They strategize means to acquire and accrue forms of capital to maintain or acquire positions within fields throughout their life trajectories. This theory takes into account influence and power of structures within fields that inhibit or assist individuals in making shifts to new fields. Fields, such as pre-employment programs, are sites of "culture" and catalysts where women learn new knowledge and strategies for making shifts in meaning and understanding.

As the discourse has changed, learning is no longer defined solely in behaviouristic terms. According to Peter Jarvis (1987), "Learning always occurs within a social context and that the learner is also to some extent a social construct so that learning should be regarded as a social phenomenon as well as an individual one" (p. 15). The social dimension of learning has come to mean "knowledge, skills, and attitudes required or needed in the process of social living" (p. 315). This influences how individuals construct their social realities and interpret their life histories.

According to Lave and Wenger (1996), learning becomes more than a transfer of information, for it is situated in time, space, and the social world where it has the potential to transform individuals' understandings, meanings, and knowledge of the social world and relations with others. They endeavour to include social practice and participation into their definition to explain individuals as persons-in-the-world as members of socio-cultural communities to illustrate relationships between individuals, the world, communities, understanding, and knowledge. Lave and Wenger (1996) propose the theory of situated learning "refers both to the development of knowledgeably skilled identities in practice and to the reproduction and transformation of communities of practice" (p. 15). Thus, situated learning theory provides a basis for understanding an individual's personal learning within social and community contexts. It illustrates dynamic interplay between individuals and social groups and their influences on each other. This complements Bourdieu's notion that individuals strategize to acquire different capitals to enter and navigate social fields that result in reproduction or production of communities.

Research Design

To understand the relationship between learning, content, strategizing, and navigating structures, I analyzed "upgrading" sessions I had held with women. From 1995-1997, as part of the "upgrading" component of a six month long pre-employment program for women on social assistance, I held informal, focus group type discussions with 67 women from five different groups. Sessions lasted for 3 hours one day a week for three months: one session in the morning and one in the afternoon. Approximately six to nine women attended either session. The purpose of the "upgrading" was to assist women in "brushing up" on skills needed to enter the job market or a course. Based on an assessment test and the women's input, a program of study was set up to assist women in improving their skills.

To inform a larger study, this research in progress concentrates on three different in-take groups totalling approximately 22 women. These groups were chosen because brainstorming, popular theatre techniques as games, and, in part, content determined by the women directed sessions. All the women happened to possess a Grade 12 diploma or a GED certificate although, in some cases, the grade level may not have been reflected in their academic skill levels. Women ranged in age from 20 to 50 plus years. The majority had a least one child. Not all women had found formal schooling a pleasant learning experience. By the end of our time together, probably all had taken at least one continuing education course at the local college. At the conclusion of my time with the women, only about two or three had decided not to continue with education, for the jobs they were going to did not need more education; they may not be able to access student loans in the future; or they just were not quite ready to make that kind of commitment.

The "upgrading" classes were small with 6 to 9 women gathered around one large table so all had eye contact. A blackboard and flipchart paper were available. The small group size provided women with opportunities to speak and become well acquainted with each other. Attendance was expected; however, if an emergency arose or if women had appointments that could only be booked during "upgrading," they were free to miss the session. Homework was given related to topics under discussion; however, marks were not given for assignments. Also, often time was provided within class to help women get started on homework. All attempts were made to encourage women to complete and hand in assignments; however, if for some reason, a woman continually did not hand in exercises, no disciplinary action was taken. Three underlying goals guided the sessions. One was to act as a bridge to formal education and to portray learning through education could be fun and worthwhile. Another goal was to illustrate to the women how much experience, knowledge, and skills they already possessed. The third goal was to encourage women to problem-solve and practice reflexivity. Another purpose was to show how content can be used in the workplace as well as academia. The hope was the women would continue their education. To accomplish these goals, I used three techniques: brainstorming, popular theatre as games, and content determined by the women. To set the context, a brief description of each technique is needed.

Brainstorming is generally used as a pre-writing technique for generating ideas for writing. However, it can also be used as a discussion tool with groups to generate knowledge about different topics or problems. In brainstorming, a circle is drawn either on a blackboard, flipchart, or some other means so that the group can see the text. The next step is for the group to generate all the points about a particular subject that comes to mind. The key here is to leave ideas unedited. The recorder simply writes down what is called out to her verbatim. Once generated, ideas can be used for essays, for discussions, or for course content selection.

Popular theatre may have numerous definitions depending upon the interpreter; however, the way I used it was to combine ideas from Paulo Freire (1970) and Augusto Boal (1979). Freire devised an educational methodology whereby through conscientization or the process of critical dialogue, critical reflection, problem-posing, and action about a community' socio-cultural realities, communities of individuals could instigate social transformation. Brazilian theatre director Augusto Boal (1979) incorporated Freire's concept of conscientization into people's theatre or popular theatre. He took the concept even further by having oppressed peoples become active observers through participation within the theatre to explore alternative solutions to issues important to the community for social transformation. Boal's (1979) process of popular theatre ranged in exercises promoting awareness of the body, expression through the body, communication with the body, and problem-solving with the body. This theory was complemented by my own use, experience, and continued involvement with a popular theatre group. Thus, all served to influence my decision to introduce popular theatre to women during "upgrading."

The third technique I used was to have the women assist me in determining content or "curriculum" for our time together. Since most of them had a Grade 12 or GED, giving them busy work or concocting irrelevant exercises seemed a definite way to create frustration and aversion to academia. Thus, using brainstorming techniques and Freire's (1970) theory of conscientization, we set out to determine for the different groups what they felt they needed to learn that would be relevant to their transition to education or the workplace.

Since this research in progress was meant to provide initial, contextual, informal information, I only kept descriptive fieldnotes of my sessions with the women. I also copied blackboard and flipchart discussions of brainstorming sessions, and I typed out handouts of group topics we decided to use to guide us. I analyzed the rich data to understand the relationship between content, strategies, learning, and women's transition from welfare to work and education. I also examined the data to see if any common themes emerged.

Findings/Conclusions

From my initial analysis, I discovered that brainstorming, popular theatre as games, and determining content assisted the women in building support networks with each other and learning to work more collaboratively. The small "upgrading" groups provided the women with the opportunity to get to know each other, share ideas and information, test out new knowledge, and break stereotyping and isolation they had encountered on welfare.

Furthermore, through brainstorming, the women discovered information, experience, knowledge, and similarities they held in common. Probably most important is that it illustrated to them they are problem-solvers with expertise. Also, it provided them with a vehicle to gain or regain their voices, and it helped create a learning community and a support network. One group enjoyed this process and the critical dialogue so much, that they intended to meet to brainstorm discussions even after I left. In addition to furnishing relief from academic work, popular theatre or games, as the women called them, provided a novel means for learning communication skills, collaboration, creation of community, body awareness, fun, play, and discovery that learning comes through other means. One group, in particular, became so attached to popular theatre that they demanded we not miss our "game." Determining content gave women a sense of control over deciding what they deemed important for their transition from welfare. Moreover, it assisted them in working collaboratively with others while learning to negotiate compromises about content we would discuss and explore. Furthermore, the women felt a sense of ownership in the process of their "upgrading," so much so in one case the women named their group the Cynth-a-sizers to distinguish themselves. This technique helped create comradery, a learning community, and support networks.

Five themes emerged from the data analysis of the research in progress: content as strategy, strategize use of content, content reveals new perspectives, content reminds of forgotten skills, and content as skill. The women tended to use content we discussed in the sessions as strategies to begin moving from welfare into a new field, such as student or employee. For example, we began discussing grammar and language use in various groups. Women mentioned that they noticed individuals talked differently in some workplaces. We discussed how language was an unwritten code (type of capital) signalling an individual's education, background, and knowledge. We brainstormed on some common grammatical errors, such as the use of being, improper use of pronouns, and very informal language. They decided to use our discussions and the way we used our language as content to begin strategizing how to overcome improper language use that would indicate they lacked command of the language. Only after we agreed as a group did we stop people during discussions and highlight improper use of words. Overall, we were supporting Bourdieu's theory about the acquisition of different types of capitals as the women used content to strategize entry into a new social field.

Women were also quite adept at strategizing ways to use content. For example, when the small groups were initially allocated, women were quite concerned about the group they had been assigned to. They tried to figure out if one group was supposed to be smarter than another. Many were quite sensitive as they had had unpleasant experiences in school because they had been considered problems or slow learners. To allay their concerns, I had them engage in an introductory exercise where each woman would partner with another woman she did not know very well. Then, I gave them a series of questions so that they could discover the person's strengths, potential contributions, and expectations. In addition to interviewing, the partners drew each other. Although they showed initial reluctance, the women drew some stunning pictures of each other that reflected the responses they had given to the questions. At the end of this exercise, the women indicated this had helped them think about strategies for interviewing individuals for their upcoming information sessions. Plus, the exercise allowed them to think about how to respond to questions in a job interview. Neither outcome had been my intent. It had been to create a learning community and to recognize their attributes. Again, these findings support Bourdieu's contention that individuals strategize ways to use types of capital to gain entry into new social groups.

The content we worked with revealed new perspectives to the women. Our popular theatre "games" assisted women in looking at the world differently through more than just verbal communication. For example, in most of the exercises we talked with the body. In one instance, I asked the women to portray happiness and relief with their bodies. Each individual chose her own body position and then was asked to show it to a partner. Then, the partners had to mirror the positions the painters portrayed. They could not believe the six different body interpretations they discovered around these concepts. This enhanced new knowledge about communication, for the women indicated that this exercise would help them listen and communicate differently with others. It also broke down stereotypes from others about their abilities.

Additionally, content we worked on reminded many women about skills they had already learned. For example, some women had been out of school for at least ten years. They were convinced that they could not remember anything. However, when women indicated they could not remember how to perform math calculations, they were pleasantly surprised to see how many of the math concepts they practised in their daily lives through budgeting, shopping, and cooking.

Finally, the data revealed content as a skill. This was illustrated when women began practising essay writing and learning how to solve ratios and proportions and fractions. Many of the women had either never worked with the concepts, or they knew very little about them. However, they discovered that through explanation and working through problems that they could practise a skill until they became adept at performing it. Much of this was a result of their willingness to practise the activity to master the skill.

As Jarvis (1987) and Lave and Wenger (1996) pointed out, learning is situated in a social context whereby individuals learn to transform their social realities. Through social interaction and critical discourse leading to action (Freire, 1970), women in the "upgrading" sessions have begun to consciously strategize ways to acquire forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977) to begin the "long walk" from welfare to work and education.

Implications for Adult Education

Mechthild Hart (1990, p. 136) states, "Education is always inevitably caught in a tension between leading to new patterns of thought and action vital to...individual consciousness, and the fact that structures...[and] content of individual consciousness are thoroughly permeated by society." As adult educators, our role may be to act a experts or guides within learning sites. We must be cautious though in working with women making a transition from welfare, for we may influence their transformation of understanding, meaning, and knowledge of relationships in the social world and their role in it. If we act as experts, we may model a world governed by rules and roles individual must fit themselves into. On the other hand, we can model a social world where rules, roles, and walls are not solid, rigid, or structured. As guides, we may communicate "the social world is constructed by people and those people do make some rules and they do enforce limits to what can be done, but the individual has to seek out and change the shape of the room when necessary" (Horowitz, 1995, p. 230).

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Stories Adult Learners Tell ...
Recent Research on How and Why Adults Learn[1]

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore the current proliferation of research in the study of the education of adults that utilizes the biographical or life history approach.

Telling the story. The development of the life history method demonstrates that its popularity coincides with particular epistemological concerns within the sociology of knowledge which can be characterized as the social or cultural construction of knowledge, stemming from the Chicago School in the 1930s, to the symbolic interactionist/phenomenological perspectives that characterized the late 1960s, through to postmodernist ideas on what counts as research knowledge in the 1990s. At last year's 38th AERC, eight papers raised methodological issues that stem from this renewed focus on the narrative and the meta-narrative[2]. In Britain, the proportion of conference papers at SCUTREA researching people's stories, the transformation of self and search for identity, located in socio-cultural contexts, has been significantly increasing since 1988 when the first two papers to focus specifically on the life history method as an 'alternative' research strategy were presented[3]. Within five years, this 'alternative' strategy had established itself sufficiently to be the major focus of the 1993 conference, at which a whole strand of the conference was devoted to biographies and autobiographies[4]. Since then between 15% and 20% of papers at SCUTREA conferences have presented research based on the so-called 'alternative' strategy. At last year's international conference in London, the majority of research-based papers were written from within the qualitative paradigm[5]. In Europe, there have been conferences focusing on the study of adult education through biography, and an electronic network for those engaged in this research[6]

Beyond the narrative. Having established its significance, this paper seeks to explore reasons for the popularity. The paper argues that in these 'new times' the biographical method has particular value. It is no longer necessary to present an apology for this method of research, given the increasing demystification of the so-called 'scientific' approach to research, the critique of statistics as socially constructed, and the questioning of 'facts as things'[7]. It is recognized that scientists, no more nor less than others, are merely telling a story, which seeks to 'explain', but merely exposes the fruitless search for causes. There has been a shift from explanation to understanding, or what the nineteenth century social scientist, Max Weber, referred to as *verstehen*[8]. This rather more phenomenological task focuses on providing understandings, negotiating meanings or making sense. The method allows all those participating in the research (the researchers and the 'researched') to work together to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct the narrative discourse that purports to 'explain', exposing for discussion meanings, multiple realities and cultural diversity in those narratives.

The life history is a research method that allows people to reintegrate the fragments of their lives and their selves through critical reflection on their lived experiences, restoring a sense of wholeness. Of course, this challenges conventional notions of social science research as the objective, value-free search for truth. The biographical approach to research is a dialectic that enables the development of understanding of human action through a mutual, democratic, participatory and educative practice.

Paradigm lost, paradigm regained. In the 1960s there was a significant paradigm shift in social science that eventually was to impact on the study of education and adult education. The ideology of positivism had been dominant for almost as long as social science had existed, characterized in its endless quest for the Holy Grail – the 'causes' of human behavior. Yet social science had failed to deliver. The knowledge generated had little impact on society. For example, the positivist search for the cause for crime had ranged from Lombroso's genetic theories about atavism through to more social explanations based on social class patterns in participation in crime. Policymakers were left uncertain as to whether the 'solution' to the problem of crime was to be found in genetic, psychological or social engineering. Social scientists had done little more than confirm the complexity of the nature-nurture debate, and the impossibility of monocausality.

Part of the reaction to this failure to explain the causes of crime or any human behavior was to develop the critique of the myth of 'science' on which social scientists had modeled their enterprise. Hypothetico-deductive empiricism was brought into question, both in terms of the axiomatic assumptions, logical positivism, and the possibilities of objective data collection, analysis and interpretation of evidence. After all, we do not all need to be trained scientists or even social scientists in order to act upon the world and sustain social order. We have our commonsense understandings and meanings that seem to get us through the day. This is not an argument in favor of naturalism, for it would appear that we do need a degree of socialization if this is to be effective. The social science task was no longer to explain why some people failed to be socialized, or engaged in delinquent or deviant behavior, or attended adult education classes. Rather, the new quest was to understand social order, and how it is socially constructed.

In the 1960s social scientists began to talk about the construction of multiple realities, interpreting diverse meanings, negotiating social and cultural identities and making sense. But more importantly, the paradigm shift celebrated research as a more participatory enterprise. This enabled some groups to break their silence. We began to listen to the voices from the margins. Among many significant developments was the spread of feminism, which in turning the view of world upside down required a radically different approach to research: there was considerable unease in having to justify anti-patriarchy through the language, metaphors and research methodology of patriarchy. As I have argued elsewhere[9], traditional social research methods reflect the ideology of nineteenth century western capitalism. Survey methods reflect the form of labor relations operating within the market economy, and interviewing can be seen as a 'masculine practice' treating interviewees as subordinates in a relationship characterized by hierarchy and reinforcing inequalities[10]. There was a need to develop alternative methodologies that do not distort the nature of social reality of women and challenge existing inequalities. The value of the life history method was recognized:

> Firstly, story telling rejects the individualism of survey research. Social surveys encourage respondents to reduce their experiences to fragments that can be captured in a question-and-answer format. Stories, by contrast, provide a vehicle through which individual can build up and communicate the complexity of their lives. While surveys 'tear individuals from their social context', stories are pre-eminently ways of relating individuals and events to social contexts, ways of weaving personal experience into their social fabric. Secondly, stories provide a vehicle through which the existence and experiences of inequality can be explored … Thirdly, stories do not demand that experiences and activities assume an object-form. Instead, stories illuminate the dynamic quality of experience, being themselves a process by which individuals make sense of past events and present circumstances … Fourthly, story-telling offers the possibility of developing alternative systems of measurement, alternative ways of classifying the social world. It offers the possibility

> of rescuing women from the status of 'non-data' without forcing them to express their experiences through the ordinal and ratio scales favored by survey research.[11]

Retrospectively, it is difficult to justify any claims through *this* story that with the shift in paradigm there was also a shift in power relations and equity. Power and inequality are not merely in the interactions between individuals or groups, but are structural, deeply rooted beneath the surface, and it would require consciousness raising of class, gender or ethnic inequalities on a vast scale to bring about significant social, cultural and economic change. Nevertheless, the paradigm shift did raise awareness of the nature and extent of power and inequality, and the dominance of ideology and hegemony, which is an important early step in the process of social and cultural transformation.

Stories adult learners tell. The analysis in this paper is focused on the study of how and why adults learn. Whilst the implications are far broader for socio-cultural, even historical research, the arguments are illustrated through the theorization of the literature on adult learning. There are two major reasons for this. The first is that an analysis of existing research on adult learning demonstrates the significance not just of the sociology of knowledge, but the very important contribution of feminist theory to research methodology, which has given the methodology its authenticity. The second reason is that the author is currently engaged in a research project seeking to describe and analyze the distinctive nature of teaching and learning in the context of mature adults studying part-time in higher education. This research, re-theorizing the notion of experience and its relation to learning, is utilizing the biographical approach, on the grounds that this is the only methodology that can generate authentic evidence needed to re-theorize experience and learning. Examples drawn from this research will be used at the conference to illustrate the theme of this paper.

Recently published research gives us an indication of the nature of these stories. Lunneborg[12] presents the stories of fourteen women who turned their lives upside down by studying for a degree with the Open University. Whilst the emphasis is on how they succeeded in gaining a degree, these are heroic tales insofar as the women in their twenties to forties were bored, stagnating and frustrated, trapped at home or in unrewarding employment. West's research[13] over a period of three years generated stories from 30 adult learners who turned to or returned to higher education in Kent, in England. The book tells us the stories of those adult learners. In reviewing the book[14] I wrote:

> We are presented with the new Canterbury Tales of our age: Kathy the Clerk (who wanted to be a solicitor), Brenda the Housewife, Paul the Builder, Alan the Docker (who would all rather be teachers), .Brian the Business Entrepreneur, Jim the Painter and Decorator (who wanted to be a radiographer), June the Casino Courier, Hilary the Nurse, Pamela the Lover, Sian the Secretary, Christine the Mother, Apoorv the Hindu, Shazir the Stranger. These tales are not fables, but fragments of British culture and history located in a region in the extreme south-east of England. The tales are those of pilgrims on the road in search of an identity and the restoration of self-esteem. We come to know not only the person, but also their families (or their significant others), their crises, their search for an identity in order to re-integrate their fragmented lives. The commonality rests not only in their search but also in the coming back to education, to access higher education at a turning point in their lives.

The story told. The stories these adult learners told are intended to be about their motivation to return to learning. There is an extensive literature available[15] to adult educators interested in finding out 'why', as West himself recognizes at the beginning of his study. In Britain, at this time, there is expressed concern for widening participation in lifelong learning[16], and one of the many keys needed to unlock the learning society is an understanding of why adults might want to learn. Are these stories of those on the educational path significantly different from those choosing alternative routes - religion, drug-induced experiences, psychotherapy, relationships (these are not mutually exclusive)? It would be unrealistic to expect West to have taken on a comparative approach to his research and gone beyond the fragment that is education. His research offers a way, *one* way, of making sense of the past, the future and the present, the ebb and flow between the self and social, cultural, political and economic context, the constant process of reconstruction of experience and changing narratives. If the alternative is the kind of survey research undertaken by NIACE/Gallup[17], which concludes, after surveying nearly 5000 adults (17 and over) in the United Kingdom that there are essentially two groups – those that will (the 'learning rich'), and those that will not (the 'learning poor') 'accept the invitation to participate in the learning society', then West's research demonstrates that his approach offers a 'powerful and natural resource to be used to understand other's life stories'. Whilst the survey can tell us about social class (disproportionately middle class), gender (more men than women), age (younger than older), employment status (those working are twice more likely to participate), nationality[18] (those in England more likely to be engaged in learning than Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland), their future intentions (the population is less likely to participate in future), and what subjects they study, such research cannot tell us why. We can detect something about motivation, and suspect that participation in learning is related to major life changes (promotion at work, moving house, getting marred or marital breakdown), but such research just leaves us asking more questions. There are data on 'reasons' for participation - the closed questions in the survey offer ten optional responses, of which seven are work-related. Of course, the life story and the survey are not 'alternatives', they are telling different stories, in different ways, by different storytellers.

The storyteller. One of the many differences between the NIACE survey and West's research is that we know very little about those who chose to respond in the affirmative to the Department for Education and Employment's request for a survey on participation in adult learning, to find out about adult learners' motivation, their reasons for choosing their methodology, sampling decisions, categorizations and classifications, focus of analysis, and styles of reporting except through inference or personal knowledge of one or more of the researchers. However, the use of the biography recognizes the inseparability of the story told and the storyteller. As critical readers, we also need to know the storyteller and certainly West's own story runs through the book as a meta-narrative providing a vital frame for the analysis and interpretation represented in the narratives themselves. Some would argue that this is precisely the problem with biographical research – it is also autobiography. In *Through the joy of learning*, the 'editors'[19] tell their story in the introduction to a series of extracts from around 400 diaries kept by adult learners. In the afterword, they reflect on their responsibilities as researchers working with the diaries.

Implications for the development of adult education and practice. Fieldhouse, an historian of British adult education, has commented that 'the present enthusiasm for life histories' among adult education researchers is in danger of 'obscuring the big picture and policy studies with fine, meaningless details'[20]. Coare and Thomson[21] would want to challenge this view, arguing that qualitative data of this nature can

> illuminate the lived experience of the institutions, structures and relationships of education. Personal accounts evoke the myriad, complex motivations for participation in learning, they record the factors which make it difficult for people to participate in and benefit from education, and how these factors change throughout people's lives, they reveal what forms and processes of education work, and sometimes don't work, for men and women, and they show what adults can get out of learning, for themselves, their families and communities.

Indeed, the 'big picture' is 'fine and meaningless' without this rich detail of people's lives. In thinking about the importance of this research for teachers of adults, there is a parallel response. Some may ask, why do we need to know? Isn't this an intrusion into people's lives that we don't really need to know about as teachers? Teachers of adults do not always have a curiosity about the lives - biographies, cultures, selves - that adult students bring with them into their classes. Indeed, some of teachers explicitly expect students to leave these 'private' selves at the door, as they themselves do (a characteristic of professionalism of teachers is not to give too much a way about who *they* are, except as teachers). However, the argument is that it is important for teachers of adults, if not to get to know the intimate details of their student lives, then to find ways to encourage students to be prepared to critically reflect on, give meaning to, and learn through, their own lived experiences. Without an awareness of *whom* the students are, *why* there want to learn at this particular moment in their lives, and *how* they learn, then teaching cannot be effective:

> Immediately our simplified analyses of student motivation for studying, our categorisations (vocational versus academic or learning for leisure) are blown apart. We may not *know* Sian, but there she is in our class, except she is called Cloe the Clerk or Rachel the Receptionist, struggling but determined to succeed, balancing domestic responsibilities, child care commitments, work requirements, and a desire for change and improvement, to overcome the barriers and constraints imposed through past experiences. Suddenly, our advice on time management or the management of change seems embarrassingly simplistic, patronising and naïve.[22]

Moreover, I would argue, this requires that we know more about who the teachers of adults are. In the same way that we cannot understand the stories adult learners tell without some awareness of the researchers' own stories, we also need to listen to the stories of both adult learners and the teachers of adults. In other words, we need more stories the teachers of adults tell, more research on how and why teachers of adults teach[23].

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[1] This paper is based on an event I organized as part of the National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education's National Adult Learners' Week 19-25 May 1997, at Birkbeck College, University of London. My thanks to the contributors: Avtar Brah, Pam Coare, Laurie Taylor and Linden West.

[2] See papers by Brooks and Edwards, Grace, Kaufmann, Lawrence, Nelson, Reybould, Sparks and Tisdell and Perry in R. E. Nolan and H. Chelesvig (eds.), *Conference Proceedings of the 38th Annual Adult Education Research Conference*, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1997

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[21] Coare and Thomson (1996), op. cit., p. 201

[22] Armstrong (1997), op. cit. p. 467

[23] Such stories already exist of teachers in other sectors, as found in D. Thomas (ed.) (1997), *Teachers' stories*, Buckingham: Open University Press, and in the biographies and autobiographies of distinguished adult educators.

Towards A Pedagogy for Disempowering Our Enemies

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Abstract. Adult educators seem hesitant to disempower anyone, including their enemies. This is because our humanist moorings makes us believe that all forms of disempowerment is evil. Proposed are rudiments of a pedagogy of ethical disempowerment, which I contend we desperately need.

Introduction

Most adult educators care about people. However, how, and to whom, we direct our caring varies considerably. Some of us focus entirely on individuals. Others prefer to address the concerns of individuals within the context of groups to which they belong. Some educators focus primarily on the material well-being of persons while others dwell on their psychological, socio-cultural, or spiritual well-being. But whatever our ethic of caring, and whatever the ends to which we direct our efforts, most of us seem to believe that caring could be actualize *wholly* through pedagogies of empowerment.

Our pedagogies of empowerment differ with our ethics of caring, but it appears that most of us are united by a humanist posture which treats disempowerment as an *ipso facto* evil. Quite often, we delude ourselves by acting as if, in our practice, we encounter no real enemies–only allies and misguided persons. If that were the case, a pedagogy of empowerment alone would suffice. However, we often encounter real enemies–people who intentionally frustrate our causes. In such cases, I argue, caring demands, not just a pedagogy of empowerment, but also a pedagogy for disempowering our enemies.

Ethics of Caring in Adult Education: Different But the Same

Below, I examine three dominant ethics of caring in adult education and conclude that all are wedded to a naive romanticism which regards all forms of disempowerment as evil. They are: a) caring as human capital formation, b) caring as self-improvement and c) caring as empowering our allies. These are not distinct categories. Quite often, people practice them in combination. For instance, some educators emphasize human capital formation as a way to empower their allies. Others employ an overt curriculum aimed at assisting learners to increase their marketability, and a hidden (covert) curriculum intended to foster critical reflection. These groupings are merely areas of emphasis, not exclusive domains. The reader is advised to remember this while reading this section.

Caring as human capital formation. Capital is any *produced* means of production. The term human capital refers to those skills, attitudes, behaviors, knowledge, etc., which are developed primarily for their economic (material) value. In economic jargon, it is "the present value of past investments in the skills of people" (Blaug, 1970, p. 19). Human capital takes many forms--improvement in our education, health, social networking; relocation to areas with better job prospects, and so on. Human capital formation is the name given to the process by which such capital is deliberately developed; and the expenditure (in time, money, etc.) is called human capital investment (Becker, 1962, p. 9).

Some (maybe most) adult educators express their caring through a focus on human capital formation. Their primary concern is to improve and/or increase the marketability of individuals. Advocates of this view populate such areas as workforce education, human resource development, learning organization, traditional approaches to adult literacy, and so on (Carnevale, et. al., 1988; Harris, 1997; Kirsch, et. al., 1993; Niemi, 1992; Watkins & Marsick,1993). Most of these adult educators treat persons as autonomous, dis-interested[1] individuals, rather than as interdependent, self-interested members of groups. They also generally imply[2] that we live in an economic meritocracy–meaning that our earnings are based primarily on merit, not favor. This dis-interested, and meritocratic stance allows them to presume a one-to-one causal relationship between the amount of human capital one possesses and one's personal and social well-being. They assume that the more human capital one possesses, the better would be his or her personal and social well-being. Caring is therefore naturally equated with human capital formation. For a thorough presentation and critique of human capital theory, see Becker, 1993; Schultz, 1961; and Baptiste, 1994; Blaug, 1972; Maglen, 1990 respectively.

Advocates of human capital formation do not possess a pedagogy of disempowerment. Why should they? Most of them seem to live in a world where true conflicts and real enemies do not exist. Some deny scarcity, acting as if there is always an infinite supply of every good thing. In such a world there is no need to directly address human conflict. "Market forces" will take care of that. Others deny greed and evil. "Illiteracy" is presumed to be the cause of all our social maladies. People are poor, sick, homeless, etc., because they lack the necessary marketable skills–a situation that is easily corrected through provision of the requisite human capital (Carnevale, 1991). Irreconcilable differences do not exist among human beings. Conflict will eventual vanish through enlightened discourse. Every human transaction can be a "win/win" situation, because our differences are due to ignorance, not vice. In this romantic world there is certainly no need to disempower anyone.

Caring as Self-Improvement. Some adult educators express their caring by seeking to fundamentally alter the state of individuals–be it physical, psychological, spiritual, etc. These are the concerns typically addressed in adult development literature (Cranton, 1994; Merriam & Caffarella, 1991; Mezirow, 1991). I call members of this group self-improvement advocates. I distinguish them from the first group, because it is possible to increase one's marketability without caring much about fundamentally altering his or her state of being. As the literature on adult development shows, important differences exist among self-improvement advocates. For instances, they differ on what state of the individual they choose to alter. Some focus on the physical, others on the cognitive, psycho-social, emotional, spiritual, and so on. Perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1985, 1991) typifies the self-improvement ethic in adult education. Its primary function is to alter in fundamental ways the perspective of the individual (hopefully for better). Mezirow vacillates on this point. But I agree with his critics, that although positive social change might be a serendipitous outcome of perspective transformation, it is not a requirement of the theory (Collard and Laws, 1989).

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[1] A self-interested person is one who allows her/his personal wants, desires, needs, etc. to influence his or her decisions and actions. I and others contend that all human endeavors are self-interested because it is humanly impossible to prevent our desires, interests, wants, etc., from influencing our conscious decisions and actions. Furthermore we believe that many social interactions are conflict-ridden, that is to say, the interactants have opposing, and sometimes irreconcilable, interests. Self-interestedness should not be confused with selfishness or greed. A selfish person seeks his or her own interests, without considering the interests of others. It is possible, however, for the self-interested person to incorporate his or her interests into a larger public interest. There are those who believe that people could be dis-interested. Such persons assume that we could totally obliterate our interests and engage in social transactions completely neutral and interest-free.

[2] In general, these assumptions are implied by actions but seldom ever stated.

Self-improvement proponents do not possess a pedagogy of disempowerment. Theirs is what Newman (1994) calls introspective activism–we can change the world, presumably, by changing ourselves. Newman depicts this view with these words:

> The revolution starts with us.
> We can begin by cleaning up our own back yard.
> We need to achieve an inner peace if we are to strive for world peace.
> We must educate ourselves before we can educate other (p. 103).

He goes on to caution that "these are seductive and comforting phrases, but they can deflect us from laying blame where blame is due, and from taking effective, coordinated action to oppose those who do us and others harm" (Newman, p. 103). It seems to me that the entire cadre of self-improvement advocates is plagued by this deflection.

Caring as empowering our allies. Some adult educators express their caring by striving to empower their allies--members of groups to which they belong or identify. I belong to this camp. We vary widely. Firstly, we differ in the groups we choose to serve. Some of us focus on groups defined by race/ethnicity, others on groups defined by socio-economic status, gender, sexual orientation, political ideology, and so on. We also differ in our definition of empowerment. For some of us empowerment is equated with improved marketability, for others its self-improvement, for others its collective empowerment, critical consciousness, and so on. Among our ranks are liberals, conservatives, feminists, critical pedagogists, marxist, and a host of others. (Baptiste, 1994; Freire, 1973; Johnson-Bailey, 1995; Ross-Gordon, 1991; Shor, 1992; Tisdell, 1993). What unites us is a commitment to empowering members of the group(s) with which we identify. We know we have enemies. Usually our allies are defined in opposition to our enemies–afrocentrism against eurocentrism, feminism against patriarchy, the Right verses the Left, and so on. But in most cases, opposition to the enemy is actualized indirectly through empowering our allies.

Paulo Freire epitomizes this approach. He is very cognizant of enemies. In all of his writings, Freire painstakingly points out the faces of oppression: custodians of banking education, corporate capitalism, European imperialism and colonialism, scientism, racism, the Right, and so on (Freire, 1970, 1973). Nonetheless, no where in Freire can one find an articulated pedagogy for disempowering the enemy. Like most educators within this group, Freire concentrates primarily on empowering his allies–usually the oppressed. In fact, Freire seems to believe that empowered, critically conscious allies will eventually transform their enemies into friends. In Freire's world, ultimately, there are no losers. Everyone wins in the end. In this utopian, humanist vision, who needs a pedagogy of disempowerment? Newman sums it up well:

> "[Freire's reference to] the Right must refer, in part at least, to people who maintain their positions, property and privilege through terror. Yet somehow Freire appears to believe that these oppressors, too, are trapped, and that *it is up to the oppressed* to release them...."
>
> Freire, then, appears to maintain a faith in the potential goodness of all people, and he envisages a utopia in which revolutionary leaders, the people, and presumably, some at least of the former oppressors, are liberated and, through a process of cultural synthesis, create a conscientized, post-revolutionary culture" (Newman, pp. 35, 36 emphasis in original).

With apocalyptic fervor, but lacking the harsh day of judgement, Freire announces his utopian vision.

> Yet it is–paradoxical though it may seem– precisely in the response of the oppressed to the violence of their oppressors that the gesture of love may be found ... As the oppressed, fighting to be human, take away the oppressors' power to dominate and suppress, they restore to the oppressors the humanity they had lost in

> the exercise of their oppression. It is therefore essential that the oppressed wage the struggle to resolve the contradiction in which they are caught....The contradiction will be resolved by the appearance of the new man who is neither oppressor nor oppressed–man in the process of liberation (Freire, 1972, pp. 32-33 cited in Newman p. 33-36).

If we could only succeed in empowering our allies, everyone will win in the end–so it seems. How then does Freire construe evil? He construes it as ignorance or mistakes. For him, the violence of the oppressor and the resultant mob reaction of the oppressed (massification) are finally all attributable to uncriticality–naivete, intransivity, and semi-transivity (Freire 1973: 19). With Freire, as with most adult educators, free, enlightened humans are accorded absolute goodness. Evil, it would seem, is either the product of ignorance, or coercion. It's as if those who really know the good will always do it. Accordingly, it is assumed that if we are not doing the good, it is either because we do not really know it, or are not really free to pursue it. On the basis of such reasoning, the ethical responsibility of the educator is to foster enlightened freedom. People, it is assumed, will act right once they are free, critical thinkers. Vice is recast as ignorance and mistakes, and the ethical responsibility of educators recast in epistemic terms, ie., the development of critical consciousness.

No doubt there are people who do us wrong out of ignorance, for whom conscientization is a fitting remedy. But I suspect that there are people who hurt and harm others knowingly and willfully. Such individuals must be disempowered, neutralized, silenced. And we fool ourselves if we believe that we will neutralize our enemies simply by empowering our foes. Freire's experiences in Guinea Bissau stand as a shining illustration of this folly (Freire, 1983). What his experience teaches us is that, although mutually reinforcing, these two goals–empowering our friends, and disempowering our enemies, require distinctly different foci and activities. Adult educators have done a pretty good job of addressing the first–empowering our allies. We are yet to develop and articulate a pedagogy for disempowering our enemies.

By pedagogy of disempowerment I am referring to more than theories of resistance (Giroux, 1983, Williams, 1961). Theories of resistance, it seems to me, are merely coping mechanisms. They simply explain the survival strategies employed by our allies. In some cases, those same strategies leave our allies more disenfranchised and powerless. In short, resistance theories offer very little by way of neutralizing or immobilizing our enemies.

Conclusion: Towards a Pedagogy of Ethical Disempowerment

I believe that it is ethical to disempower our enemies–those who, wittingly, do us and others harm. I no longer share the humanist conviction that it is always possible to rehabilitate our oppressors. Where oppression is due to ignorance, rehabilitation may suffice. But where oppression is due to vice we have no ethical recourse but to stop, disempower, silence the perpetrators. Social activists have always understood this. Asks unionist struggling to squelch the insatiable appetite of power-hungry capitalists; ask environmentalists who are working on the front line to save our rain forests from greedy predators; ask women activists who see every day the ravages done to women by tyrannizing men. These and countless other activists know that the enemy is real, dangerous, and beyond rehabilitation.

Newman (1994) has provided an important first step toward building a pedagogy of ethical disempowerment. He has dispelled the myth that we don't really have enemies, has begun to define them for us. Standing on his shoulders, we must now articulate that pedagogy. This articulation, I believe, should begin by shifting our pedagogical lenses from the classroom to social movements. People in formal classrooms are usually too nice and politically correct to engage in ethical disempowerment. On the contrary, attempts to disempower the enemy occurs daily in social movements, therefore it is to those movements we must turn. Given their busy schedule, and action orientation, however, most social activists do not have the time nor inclination to synthesize and articulate their pedagogies in use. But I believe that reflection and articulation lend greater potency to our actions–the result is usually improved practice.

We must conduct critical examinations of the works of social activists. I say critical, because I do not assume that activists are ethical in all of their dealings; nor do I assume that all of their pedagogical practices are sound or efficacious. A critical assessment of their practices will allow us to identify those elements that are ethical and sound. A good place to begin might be with popular educators (working with disenfranchised groups) who are also self-identified adult educators. These educators are most likely to see the value, not only of disempowering their enemies, but also of *articulating* a pedagogy of disempowerment Our examination should occur in diverse settings and contexts–workplace, communities, schools (not classrooms), etc. We should not assume that what works for unionists in South Africa will suffice in Spain; we should not assume that what works for environmentalists in Brazil, will work for environmentalists in the US; we should not assume that what works for women activists will work for activists fighting racial discrimination, and so on.

Secondly, a pedagogy of ethical disempowerment requires a radical re-conceptualization of our practice. This re-conceptualization demands a shift away from curriculum and program planning models rooted in sterile, a-political theories of organizational behavior so prevalent in industrial psychology, business management and human resource development (Boyle, 1981; Gerloff, 1985; Galbraith, et. al., 1997). I contend that though we may have discarded the jargon of scientific management, adult educators continue to practice it. We need, therefore, to cast off the shackles of scientific management and all its technicist trappings, and embrace theories and planning models which emphasize political mobilization–theories which construe practice, not as discrete sets of technical and psychological competencies, but as deeply complex political acts, involving arduous negotiation of interests (Cervero & Wilson, 1994; Fisher & Kling, 1993; Kretzmann & McKnight,1993; Kriesi, 1993).

I have only scratched the surface of this issue. Being a victim, myself, of the utopian, humanist vision I here criticize, I have only just begun to shake off its mantle. Much is left to be done. I solicit the aid of those of you who have gone beyond me in this journey. Together, I am confident that we can succeed in articulating and implementing a pedagogy of ethical disempowerment. Our world badly needs one!

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Teaching Scholarly Writing to Doctoral Students: Giving Novice Scholars a Running Start

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Abstract: Students entering doctoral programs in adult education and related fields often experience culture shock. Perhaps the biggest adjustment is learning how to think and write like a scholar. This paper examines how involvement by doctoral students in a formal scholarly writing project during their first semester of study influenced their subsequent doctoral experience and professional work.

Introduction Literature Review, and Purpose. Students entering doctoral programs in adult education and related fields often experience culture shock. Perhaps the biggest adjustment is learning how to think and write like a scholar. In some of our doctoral programs we have observed that the teaching of this process often comes in the form of "too little and too late." More specifically, some students may not be exposed to the scholarly writing process until the dissertation stage, which for some students creates problems in their ability to complete the doctoral program. Those of us who facilitate helping students learn the scholarly process find ourselves from time to time asking the following question: Is there a better way to teach these novice scholars what we know about this seemingly mysterious process of scholarly writing?

To respond to this question, the educational leadership faculty in a southwestern university designed a course assignment to teach incoming doctoral students, most of whom are full time practitioners, the scholarly writing process. This assignment, termed the scholarly writing project (SWP), had three major purposes: (1) to investigate a specific area of interest within the content parameters of the class; (2) to engage in the process of critiquing a colleague's work; and (3) to incorporate feedback from colleagues and instructors in redrafting a formal academic paper. In developing the SWP, we tried to simulate what scholarly writing entails. We incorporated materials recommended in the literature on writing and our own experience as faculty with the scholarly writing process. Three components were included as part of this assignment: content, process, and critique. The *content* element focused on the ability of scholars to present an argument for a specific thesis which was grounded in literature and/or empirical research (Melroy, 1994; Moxley, 1992). The *process* element acknowledged that scholarly writing was an ongoing process of writing and rewriting (Curren, 1993; Dugan, 1991; Lamott, 1994). Finally, the *critique* element consisted of being able to receive and use critical feedback and to give helpful feedback as students moved to the final draft of their work (Ashton-Jones, 1992; Fiske, 1992; Lamott, 1994). Most of the literature to support our development of scholarly writing came from scholars in the humanities and the field of composition. Those writing from an educational perspective focused primarily on either the content of the piece or descriptions of what should be included in a scholarly work (e.g., Caffarella and Barnett, 1997; Melroy, 1994) .

To better understand students' perceptions of scholarly writing, we were curious about how this process affected their thoughts, feelings, and skills. Learning from students' perceptions about writing has been stressed more recently in the literature on writing (Bishop, 1993; Clark, 1993; Lamott, 1994; Melroy, 1994), encompassing the constructivist or hermeneutic perspective on writing (Clark, 1993). We could only locate two empirical studies which sought student opinions on the writing process (Bishop, 1993; Koncel and Carney, 1992), and of those two, only the Koncel and Carney study examined the perceptions of students in a graduate professional program. They found a gap in thinking between students and faculty as to what constitutes scholarly writing, discovering what students wanted most was to learn how to write more concisely, follow a prescribed format, and use correct terminology. Faculty, on the other hand, believed students needed to improve their ability to make solid arguments supported by evidence and theory.

To obtain students' perceptions about the scholarly writing process, we collected a variety of information, including their self-perceptions as writers, the help required to produce a SWP, the value of critiquing one anothers' papers, and the effects of the SWP on their degree program and professional practices. For this particular paper, we report the data about how the SWP influenced students' subsequent doctoral experience and professional work. Discussed in the remainder of this paper are the methods of inquiry and data sources used in the study, the findings related to the effects of the SWP on students' academic activities and their work as professionals, and a discussion of those findings.

Methodology. This study was exploratory and qualitative in nature. The subjects included all students who were enrolled or had graduated in the last four years from a doctoral program in educational leadership at a southwestern university. Two types of data were collected. One data source consisted of gathering the reactions of a student cohort (n=10) about the scholarly writing process during their first semester of graduate study when they were first introduced to the scholarly writing process. Of these 10 respondents, six were males, four were females, and one student was of Hispanic origin and the rest were Caucasian. The majority of these students (9 of 10 or 90%) were working full time in addition to attending school. Throughout the semester, the two professors teaching the course periodically gathered students' written and verbal reactions to the scholarly writing process; students also kept a journal documenting their reactions.

The second type of data entailed asking all students who had been introduced to the scholarly writing process over the past four years (n=37 or 90% of the total population) to participate in a focus group interview. If students lived too far from campus, they were asked to complete a questionnaire covering the same questions as asked during the focus group interviews. In this group of 37 respondents, there was an almost equal portion of male and female students, the majority being Caucasian. About one-third of them were still involved in course work, one-third were taking their comprehensive examinations or were conducting their dissertations, and one-third had graduated from the program. All of the respondents were professional educators, with about 80% being employed full time when these data were gathered. The questions asked in the focus groups and on the questionnaires allowed students to reflect on their subsequent reactions to the scholarly writing process and its impact on their academic and professional work. Because data were collected from four student cohorts, their perceptions were obtained as early as six months after completing the scholarly writing project and as long as three years later. These different types of data were analyzed using the constant comparative method, which resulted in the creation of categories, cluster categories, and then overall themes.

Findings. In exploring the factors which influenced students' perceptions about how the SWP influenced their academic program and professional practice, we discuss first what impact the SWP had on their work as doctoral students. We follow this discussion with an overview of how the students were able to integrate what they learned from the SWP into their practice as professionals.

Influence on Academic Program. In describing how the SWP affected their academic work three major themes emerged. First, students commented on the primarily positive effect the SWP had on completing the various parts of their program including formal course work, the comprehensive examination, and the writing of the dissertation. Overwhelming the students perceived they had used what they had learned from the SWP in completing other classes. More specifically, they spoke about knowing more about the mechanics of writing and better organizing their ideas as writers, including framing sound arguments for the papers they wrote. These sentiments were revealed in these sample comments: "It reorganized the way I think about papers. I started thinking in terms of advanced organizers, transition sentences, how am I going to put citations in here, flow." "Document, document, document...Precise wording, precise sentence structure, precise thought." In addition, students emphasized what they had learned about giving and receiving critique was also key.

Likewise with the comprehensive examination and dissertation process the comments were very similar. For the comprehensive examinations, the students most often noted how the SWP helped them in organizing their responses, being focused, developing formats for the response, and being able to synthesize materials. They were also glad they had received feedback on their writing and scholarship early on in the program. As one student observed, "I'd hate to get to comps and go through this process and find out that I had some real significant problems getting my ideas across." The one negative perception some students voiced was that the SWP did not help them with the timed portion of the comprehensive exams. In fact, a few students viewed what they learned in the SWP as detrimental to completing the timed exams and that the nature of the exams themselves were an antithesis to what we were teaching them about becoming scholars.

For helping with the dissertation process what seemed especially important was learning that being critiqued thoroughly on their work and rewriting was a normal, and even useful, part of the scholarly writing process, which was evident in these comments: "The critiquing I received...I would have never been able to take that or understand it if I hadn't experienced it in the scholarly writing process." "The fact that I was forced to rewrite that was so central in doing the dissertation." Some students also noted the importance of doing a thorough review of the literature which supported what they wanted to study, and a few even commented that the content for their studies came from their original SWP. One student even remarked that she thought there is "a strong correlation between the scholarly writing project and dissertation completion. You are more fortified to be able to complete it." Another observed that "without the nurture and practice scholarly writing would have remained a mystery for much longer."

The second major theme that emerged from the comments of the students was their sense that many of them had increased their self-confidence as writers and students. The comments of two students exemplify this thought: "It's skill and confidence that are the most important things that come out of this." "I feel like I can do it now, I mean I have reached that point. I have some confidence that I'm at least moving in the right direction. I think that is verification." More specifically, in terms of their confidence as writers, they viewed themselves as growing in their writing and continued to do so as they moved along in the program. In the voice of one of the students: "I think I am a better writer. I think I will be a somewhat different writer, and I probably will be even better."

The third theme that came from the data was that the SWP set the tone and expectations for what was expected of them as doctoral students. As voiced by one student: "You know, the one thing that it [the SWP] did for me was...by having [the SWP] be such a major part of the course it made a real strong statement that [in] this doctoral program...you not only have to be able to have the thoughts, the cognitive piece, but you also have to be able to write." The SWP was also a major motivator for some students in terms of moving forward with their doctoral study as seen in the reflections of another student: "I believe the very act of completing the SWP, in which I was given a lot of positive feedback, may have been the impetus that spurred me on to the completion of my program. It meant a lot that I had proven to myself and my professors that I could think and write in a scholarly fashion".

One student summed up the feelings many of the students had about the SWP by using the metaphor of a trip-tic: "I felt like this was the first page of my trip-tic on my journey of getting this done. It is what you build on the whole rest of your time[including], your dissertation. I can't imagine what it would be like not to have that at the beginning."

Influence on Professional Practice. Almost all respondents reported significant changes in one or more aspects of their professional work. The reported changes and observations fall in four general themes. First, the SWP was reported to have significantly impacted a variety of writing responsibilities of the respondents. Writing for professional publication was frequently mentioned, as were improvements in writing skills related to preparation of written reports for presentation to higher-level administrators and governing boards, improvement in the quality of writing for grant proposals, and better written evaluations of staff. One administrator indicated "I write a lot of reports, communications to staff and parents, and I constantly think about active voice, present tense, etc. I feel I critique my work all of the time." One principal observed "I think I've written some of the best [faculty evaluations] I've ever written this year, the best I've written in six years."

The second significant change related to how respondents work with colleagues on written projects. Almost all indicated a higher degree of comfort in working collaboratively on written projects. As one student reported, "The collaborative aspects of completing our projects is the 'real world.' I find myself in collaborative situations daily." They also reported that involvement of others in the writing of materials that they had previously written alone had two outcomes: better products and a stronger working relationship with their partners in writing. The SWP was also reported to have contributed to greater skills in working with others. One student reported "The SWP, along with other writing projects [in the doctoral program], influenced my belief that I have insight in guiding others (professional peers) eager to improve their writing skills."

Third, the SWP has influenced the manner in which students, in their professional roles, expect and invite others to critique their work. A student reported "I look for people to critique my writing who I know are good writiers. ... I tend to seek people that I value in terms of their critique, and I'm not sure I would have done that before the SWP." In addition, those employed as administrators reported an increase in their expectations of the level of critical thinking and analysis expected of others with whom they work. That impact was described by one student who said "I set higher expectations for both myself and staff in presenting written articles to the school community, after training on the SWP." There were also expressions of disappointment that others were willing to settle for having written products that had not been well critiqued. There were numerous expressions that the SWP had increased skills in being able to be helpful to those colleagues in improving the quality of their writing. Those with teaching responsibilities indicated that the scholarly writing project had influenced both their expectations of students and the manner in which they work with students on writing projects. Representative of this change is one student's comment: "I am much more of an exacting person today than I was prior to completing my SWP and dissertation. I believe this characteristic influences the way I prepare for college classes I teach and my expectations of students."

The fourth theme centered on contributions of the SWP to a general increase in professional self-confidence and the development of more scholarly "habits of the mind." Students frequently commented that the SWP had increased their self-confidence as professional educators, not only with regard to writing, but also with the assessment of the quality of their thinking and professional judgment. One student said, "I learned the courage to hand my work to someone else for critique. I believe this is important in that I gained a certain confidence that is necessary to be successful." Students reported confidence in evaluating published scholarly writings, where prior to the SWP they were quite accepting of the veracity of anything that had been published. The confidence to critique published materials was expressed by one student who said, "It kind of carried over for me to being more critical of the stuff I was reading from professional journals that a lot of what's published maybe hasn't been critiqued as well as it should have." Numerous comments indicated that the experience had influenced their ways of thinking. As one student reported, "The 'revisions' have changed me from a 'write it on paper person' to a 'write and revise it on the computer person." Another student described this impact: "The ability to look at a problem from various points of view and a variety of settings has been invaluable to me in my work as a professional."

Discussion. This study investigated the perceptions of doctoral students regarding their scholarly writing experience, which follows a recent line of research focusing on student perceptions about writing (Bishop, 1993; Caffarella and Barnett, 1997; Clark, 1993; Melroy, 1994). However, we found no empirical work addressing the central theme of this study, namely how an intensive scholarly writing activity impacts students' subsequent performance. In particular, our results indicated that the early involvement in an intensive scholarly writing project had lasting effects on the remainder of students' doctoral program and on their professional practice. This intensive writing experience sets an early expectation for communicating high program standards and for helping students develop clear, well-supported arguments, strategies Koncel and Carney (1992) believe more graduate programs should stress.

Participants clearly felt this initial writing experience and the intensive feedback they received had a significant impact on their subsequent involvement in the doctoral program, especially in their other courses as well as organizing and writing their comprehensive examinations and dissertations. Being more aware of the mechanics of writing (e.g., familiarity with APA format, use of advanced organizers and transitions) sensitized students to how to better prepare papers in other courses, comprehensive examination responses, and the different sections of the dissertation. Koncel and Carney (1992) reported that graduate students felt that mastering these mechanics constituted good writing; however, our findings suggested good writing also entailed how to organize and support thoughts and ideas, impressions usually held by professors. Given the number of revisions involved in developing a dissertation, many students felt less intimidated by having their drafts critiqued by professors. In effect, they saw writing a dissertation as a process (Curren, 1993). Therefore, the constant rewriting process of the dissertation did not come as such a shock to students since they had come to expect such feedback, becoming emotionally prepared for numerous critiques, a topic rarely addressed and which bears more attention in the literature on writing (Caffarella and Barnett, 1997; Fiske, 1992; Lamott, 1994).

Besides using their newly-developed writing skills in other portions of the doctoral program, the scholarly writing experience had an impact on participants' perceptions of their own writing ability and what was expected to be successful. Because many of our doctoral students had not been involved in a formal learning experience for quite some time, they had self-doubts about being a successful doctoral student. When beginning the program, most students were extremely anxious about how their lack of writing skills would affect their performance, especially in completing a dissertation (Caffarella and Barnett, 1997). Their involvement in a scholarly writing experience early in their program appeared to relieve these anxieties in several ways. First, their self-confidence as writers improved. Based on seeing improvements in their writing over the course of the semester, they believed they could tackle a more ominous writing task, the dissertation. They may well have seen the dissertation as a collaborative process, rather than a solitary activity (Dugan, 1991). Second, their sense of what it means to be a successful doctoral student was clarified. By better understanding what standards were required in the program, and that they could achieve these standards, students' initial self-doubts tended to disappear and were replaced with self-confidence and high expectations for success.

An encouraging conclusion from our investigation was that scholarly writing during their academic program positively influenced participants' professional practices. While the expressed intent of this writing experience was to provide assistance in developing their academic writing skills, an added benefit was the improvement of their professional written and oral communication. For instance, respondents felt they were better able to prepare and write memos, grant proposals, articles for publication, reports, and staff evaluations as well as to deliver oral presentations to their staff, school board members, and legislative bodies. Similarly, they were more confident in assessing the writing and ideas expressed by other people. When reviewing published articles, colleagues' correspondence and verbal presentations, and the written work of students whom they were teaching, respondents were far more likely to analyze the strengths and weakness of these products and presentations, offering helpful suggestions for ways to improve what had been written or expressed. In some cases, they were hesitant to provide feedback, especially to superiors, but found other people to be quite open to their comments.

Somewhat surprising, however, was the impact scholarly writing appeared to have on respondents' professional working relationships. From the collaborative experience of producing a scholarly paper, participants saw the benefit of working together with others to create products in their work settings. Therefore, some students were more likely to develop reports, newsletters, and other written communications jointly with other staff members, rather than by themselves. In this way, they were able to see the benefits of collaborative writing (Ashton-Jones, 1992). Furthermore, the scholarly writing project appeared to sensitize participants to the importance of being succinct and providing support when expressing their ideas. As a result of this shift in their analytical thinking, some students reported they expected others in the organization to demonstrate more sound reasoning for their ideas. In some cases, co-workers' ideas were seen as being underdeveloped and shallow, leading to personal disappointment. Although not reflected in this study, these higher standards and expectations for expressing ideas may create some friction between co-workers, especially if professionals are seen as suddenly becoming overly critical of their colleagues' thoughts.

The ability to organize, support, and clearly communicate written and verbal thoughts is one of the hallmarks of a successful professional. If doctoral programs are to develop the intellectual and practical capacity of professionals, then university professors must be willing to invest time and resources to ensure these outcomes are achieved. Although this small-scale study revealed the positive effects an intensive scholarly writing project can have on the attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to successfully complete a doctoral program as well as on professionals' workplace practices and relationships, it certainly is not a definitive study. The small sample size and the use of only perceptual data limit generalizability and in-depth understanding of the lasting effects of scholarly writing. To continue to inquire how scholarly writing activities affect doctoral students, we encourage further studies of this type. Without this inquiry, we run the risk of subjecting doctoral students to meaningless and frustrating experiences, rather than helping them become more articulate, thoughtful, and collaborative professionals.

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*A complete reference list will be given at the conference

The Outcomes and Impact of Adult Literacy Education in the United States

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Abstract. This study analyzed twenty-two of the most credible outcome/impact studies in adult literacy education conducted since that late 1960s to make reasoned conclusions about program effectiveness and to identify common conceptual and methodological problems.

Objectives

This study examines the outcomes and impacts of adult literacy education in the United States. Outcomes are defined as changes in learners that result from participation in adult literacy education; impacts represent effects on the community and society in general. The study as reported here had two objectives. 1. To make reasoned inferences about the effectiveness of adult literacy education in the United States. 2. To identify common conceptual, design and methodological problems inherent in the studies reviewed.

Methodology

Based on an earlier analysis of the outcome literature on adult literacy education conducted by the author, it was not anticipated that a definitive outcome study (or studies) of adult literacy outcome/impact existed from which logical conclusions regarding program effectiveness could be inferred. When the literature was reviewed in conjunction with this study, this, in fact, proved to be the case. Consequently, the strategy here was to analyze a wide range of outcome/impact studies in order to make reasonable inferences about effectiveness from patterns of findings while taking research limitations into account. The analysis is qualitative in orientation. Although it was hypothetically possible to conduct a quantitative meta-analysis for some outcome variables, tested learning gain for example, it was determined that valid data from a sufficient number of studies did not exist. Furthermore, statistical information critical to a quantitative meta-analysis was generally not reported for the existing studies.

The first step was to identify a pool of research studies conducted since the inception of the federal adult literacy program that were available in the public domain and potentially included an outcome/impact component. ERIC and other abstracting services were searched using numerous descriptors and state and national policy makers were consulted regarding studies the search might have missed. The initial search identified approximately 120 studies. Next, abstracts were reviewed to determine which studies in the initial pool did, in fact, include outcome/impact components. These studies were ordered in hard copy when available and secured in microfiche when hard copy was not available. Seventy studies that included an outcome component were identified and acquired for assessment. Subsequently, each study was abstracted and evaluated according to the following criteria:

- The study included an outcome/impact component.
- The report was adequately documented in respect to design and methods.
- There was an adequate N.
- The sampling plan was adequate (i.e. could and did result in external validity).

- Data collection procedures were adequate. (i.e. were not tainted by substantial attrition or biased by other factors).
- Objective measures, rather than self-report, were used to measure outcomes.
- Measures, especially tests, were valid and reliable.
- The research design included a control or comparison group.
- Inferences logically followed from the design and data.

No study fully met these criteria. Finally, those studies that were assessed as being the most credible based on the above criteria were selected for in-depth case analysis. While it was originally anticipated that ten to twelve studies would be selected for in-depth analysis, 22 studies were eventually selected. Studies were organized into six contextual categories for presentation: national studies (n=4), state-level studies (n=9), workplace literacy (n=5), welfare (n=2), and family literacy (n=2).

The data for the 22 case studies were acquired from published research reports which varied in completeness and clarity. Hence the case studies necessarily varied accordingly. For many of the studies, measuring outcome/impact was but one of several research objectives. In such cases, only the portions that pertained to outcome/impact were reflected in the case studies. Studies selected for case analysis are listed in the reference section.

Findings

The case studies themselves were too lengthy to recapitulate here, although details of the most important among them will be discussed during the presentation. Studies varied considerably in their strengths and limitations. While the three of the national evaluations of the federally-funded adult literacy program were extensive in their scope, all were so flawed in either design or execution that generalized conclusions regarding outcome/impact were problematic. Two large scale studies of state welfare systems conducted in California and Texas, one evaluation of the state workforce readiness system conducted in Washington and the National Evaluation of the Even Start Program were well designed and included data on the outcomes and impact of adult literacy education. However, all three were conducted on special populations of learners (welfare recipients, participants seeking employment or Even Start enrollees), and thus the results could not be generalized to adult literacy education in general. Only nine state-level studies were identified as being credible, and all were methodologically limited.

Program Effectiveness

Conclusions regarding program effectiveness are "reasoned" inferences based on the extent to which the 22 studies showed consensus on specific variables and weighed by the credibility of the individual studies. That is to say, studies with large samples that included control or relevant comparison groups were weighted more heavily in making inferences than less credible studies. Findings are represented by Table 1.

Based on the data, it was concluded:

- In general, it is likely that participation in adult literacy education produces gains in employment.
- In general, participants in adult literacy education believe that their jobs improve over time. However, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that participation causes job improvement.

Table 1: Results of the Case Studies.

empl = gains in employment.
bjob = acquisition of a better job
inc = increased income
ced = continued education
wel = termination of or reduction in public assistance
read = self-reported gains in reading
write = self-reported gains in writing
write = self-reported gains in writing
math = self-reported gains in math
TLG = tested learning gain
GED = GED acquisition
slf-c = self-confidence, self-esteem or self-concept
chld = impact on children's education
pgoal = attainment of learner's personal goals

STUDY	empl	Bejob	inc	ced	Welf	read	writ	math	TLG	GED	slf-c	chld	pgoal	METH
1N	y			y		y	y	y	y		y			PP- L
2N	?			y		y	y	y			y		y	P
3N	y		y	y	Y				y			y		PP-L
4N	y				n				n			y		PP-L-C
5S	n		y		n									PP-L-C
6S	y										y	y	y	PP
7S						y	y	y						PP
8S	y	Y	y	y	y	y	y	y			y	y	y	P
9S	y	Y		y		y		y		?	y	?	y	PP-C
10S	y		y	y	y	?	?	?			?	y	y	PP-C
11S	y	Y		y		y	y	y			y	y		P
12S											y			P
13S	?		?	y		y	y	y	y	?	?	?	y	P-L
14W									n	y				PP-C
15W	y		y		y									PP-C
16WO														PP
17WO														P
18WO														P
19WO		N				y	y	y			y			P
20WO									y				n	PP
21FL									?	y				PP-L-C
22FL	y	Y		y	y					y				P
Total	y=10 ?=2 n=1	y=4 ?=0 n=1	y=5 ?=1 n=0	y=9 ?=0 n=0	y=5 ?=0 n=2	y=8 ?=1 n=0	y=7 ?=1 n=0	y=8 ?=1 n=0	y=4 ?=1 n=2	y=3 ?=2 n=0	y=8 ?=2 n=0	y=6 ?=2 n=0	y=6 ?=0 N=1	

Study codes: N=national study, S=state, W=welfare, WO=workplace, FL=family literacy.
For Methods (METH), P = post measurement only, PP = pre-post, L = longitudinal measurement, C = control or comparison group.
y = study found impact on this variable, ? = inconclusive findings, n = study found no or negative impact.

- In general, it is likely that participation results in earning gain.
- In general, participation in adult literacy education has a positive influence on continued education
- Although the evidence suggests that participants in welfare-sponsored (JOBS program) adult literacy education do experience a reduction in welfare dependence, the evidence is inconclusive whether adult literacy education in general reduced welfare dependence.
- Learners perceive that participation improves their skills in reading, writing and mathematics.

- As measured by tests, the evidence in inconclusive that participants gain in reading, writing and mathematics.
- In general, adult literacy education provides gains in GED acquisition for learners entering at the adult secondary level.
- Participation has a positive impact on learners' self-image.
- Based exclusively on self-report data, participation has a positive impact on parent's involvement in their children's education.
- Learners are generally able to achieve their personal goals through participation in adult literacy education.

Conceptual Design and Methodological Problems

With few exceptions, the studies analyzed for this report were flawed in ways that severely compromised the validity and utility of their findings. At best, public funds have been wasted. At worst, important planning and policy decisions have been made on inaccurate and misleading data. There are at least six causes of the flaws which are inherent in the studies reviewed for this report: inaccurate or incomplete data; over-reliance on self-report data; lack of adequate controls; lack of valid, reliable, appropriate tests; poor quality research reports and lack of relevant standards. Clearly, these problems must be avoided in future outcome/impact research if useful knowledge is to result.

Inaccurate and incomplete data. An overwhelming majority of the studies, including all those conducted at the national and state levels, collected learner data through adult literacy education programs. Common problems with data collected through programs were inaccurate learner records, failure to pre- and post-test at specified intervals, administration of inappropriate levels of tests, failure to test, high attrition of subjects between pre and post data collection, program's withdrawal from the study before data collection was complete, and failure to forward data to researchers in a timely fashion.

Self-report data. Most studies relied on self-report data for their findings rather than on objective data. Lacking pre-data, studies that used a post-only design had little choice. For all studies, collecting self-report data was the obvious option given that hard data on such variables as employment, earnings, welfare reduction and continued education were simply not available. The exceptions were the welfare and workforce studies for whom state welfare and employment records were obtained.

Lack of controls. The most logically defensible way is through the use of an experimental design in which subjects are randomly assigned either to instruction or a control group. Because random assignment insures that participant and control groups are equivalent in all respects except participation, differences in group pre- post- gains can be solely attributed to the impact of adult literacy education. Although when inferring causality is a goal an experimental design is ideal, of all the studies reviewed, only one was able to employ one. As a result, the extent to which adult literacy education *causes* impact is a very difficult question to answer.

Valid and reliable tests. The most commonly used tests for basic skills gain were the TABE and the CASAS tests. Use of these tests and others was fraught with problems which included the appropriateness of the test, ceiling and floor effects, testing after reasonable intervals of instruction, test validity and reliability and high experimental mortality.

Poor quality reports. Reports of outcome/impact research must contain certain information about design and methodology for researchers and policy makers to assess the credibility of the research. This critical information includes basic research design, sampling procedures, data collection procedures, response rates, test validity and reliability, and time intervals between pre- and post-testing. Of the studies reviewed for this report, many percent lacked this vital information and had to be eliminated from further consideration. Since the credibility of their findings could not be assessed, they were essentially worthless.

Lack of standards. There are two equally important processes involved in credible outcome/impact research. The first requires competent design, execution and reporting so that valid findings result while the second entails judgment regarding whether findings represent program success. There are at least to bases for judgment and both are problematic in adult literacy education. The first is comparative judgment in which the gains of one study are compared to the gains of similar studies. However, because the outcome/impact studies of adult literacy education vary greatly in design, procedures and populations, meaningful comparative judgment is confounded. The second is normative judgment. In this case findings are assessed in relation to established standards. However, for adult literacy education such standards simply do not exist.

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A Feminist Critique of Human Resource Development Research

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Abstract. This paper shares the results of a critique of human resource development (HRD) research, according to a feminist research framework. The paper offers a brief description of feminist research and challenges HRD researchers to be more critical of their practice.

Introduction

Human Resource Development (HRD) is an emerging discipline in the process of creating and validating knowledge. Like most other social institutions, the process of knowledge creation and dissemination has historically been the province of white men. Women's experience and knowledge has been traditionally excluded or overlooked in social science research. During the last two decades, feminist social scientists have critiqued the research process. Acker, Barry, and Esseveld recognize that traditional social science has relegated women to the periphery and misrepresented their lives. They consequently suggest that "a radical rebeginning is needed in feminist research" (1983, p. 424). This paper suggests a new beginning through critical assessment of published HRD research. This paper defines feminist research, presents a feminist critique of HRD research, and challenges HRD researchers.

Theoretical Framework

Entertaining the many types of feminism is beyond the scope of this paper. A feminist--at the most simplistic level--is a person who seeks economic, social and political equality between the sexes. Feminists participate in and/or support organized activity to advance women's rights and interests. Acker, Barry, and Esseveld (1983) define feminists as engaged in: acknowledging the exploitation, devaluation and often oppression of women; making a commitment to changing the condition of women; and adopting a critical perspective toward dominant intellectual traditions that have ignored and /or justified women's oppression.

Is there a particular feminist research method? No. There is, however, a feminist *approach* to research. Feminist researchers use methods similar to other researchers (Harding, 1987; Peplau & Conrad, 1989). What makes feminist research unique is "defining women's experiences as suitable problems and sources of answers; designing research *for* women; and locating both researcher and researched on the same critical plane" (Coyner, 1988-1989, p. 291). "The feminist goal is to do research that is *for* women rather than *about* women" (Allen & Barber, 1992, p. 9). Bologh asserts that feminist researchers "question and challenge the implicit male perspective of the dominant paradigms, ethnological structures, and theoretical assumptions of the various disciplines" (1984, p. 388). Finally, feminist research is concerned with social justice, not only for women, but also for other oppressed groups in society.

Research questions have traditionally been conceptualized without consideration of women (Fine, 1985; Lykes & Stewart, 1986; Unger, 1983) and HRD is no exception. A quick reading of HRD research reveals an agenda driven by management interests focused primarily on learning and performance. Leimbach and Baldwin (1997) identify the characteristics of effective HRD research as being customer driven, linked to value creation, short in duration, and rigorous. While Leimbach and Baldwin's characteristics are important in HRD research, there are several omissions. For instance, there is no reference to addressing issues related to women and minorities, diversity, power relationships, social context or social and political change.

Employees are not even mentioned in the characteristics. Although organization power holders control the demand for HRD services and impact the HRD system, they are not the sole members. Organizations affect employees, communities and the environment.

Methodology

This study focused on reviewing the HRD research published in 1997 from three sources. During 1997, two books on HRD research were published (Russ-Eft, Preskill & Sleezer, 1997; Swanson & Holton, 1997). The other source was the proceedings of the 1997 Academy of Human Resource Development (AHRD) Conference (Torraco, 1997). All sources were evaluated according to Worell's six themes of feminist research:

1. Challenges traditional scientific inquiry.
2. Focuses on the experiences and lives of women.
3. Considers asymmetrical power arrangements.
4. Recognizes gender as an essential category of analysis.
5. Attends to language and the power to "name."
6. Promotes social activism and societal change. (1996, p. 476)

The two books were critiqued. 121 papers were evaluated from the AHRD conference proceedings against Worell's framework. These findings are preliminary, as analyses of AHRD conferences from 1994-1996 and 1998 are underway, as well as an analysis of research published in *Human Resource Development Quarterly*.

Findings

The findings will be reported following two strains. The first will be a critique of the research highlighted in the two 1997 HRD research books. The second will be an analysis of the 1997 AHRD conference proceedings.

A brief critique of HRD research books. McLean and Russ-Eft identified nine "examples of excellent HRD research" in the 1997 *HRD Research Handbook*. These studies were published between 1992-1995. McLean and Russ-Eft established that the studies selected were not "perfect," and emphasized that they represented a wide array of topics and methodologies. These "excellent" studies addressed issues including: continuous quality improvement, cross-cultural human resource development, performance feedback, organization learning, behavioral modeling, interpersonal-skills training, computer-based interventions, transfer of training, performance prediction, team building, learning, design, performance and development. Two of the nine studies sampled business students. The sample populations for the others included managers, team members and training participants. By analyzing this small selection of studies against Worell's (1996) six points framing feminist research we can establish that: (1) Some of the studies challenged traditional scientific inquiry (Brooks,1994; DiBella,1993; and Rowe, 1995). (2) None of the studies focused on the experiences and lives of women. (3) Asymmetrical power arrangements were considered by one study (Brooks, 1994). (4) Gender was not recognized as an essential category of analysis in any of the studies, not even those with a significant population of women. (5) Worell and Etaugh (1994) identify "attending to language and the power to name" as the willingness to address undiscussables such as sexual harassment, discrimination, or violence against women. None of the studies ventured into this area. (6) Finally, none of the studies promoted social activism or societal change.

Russ-Eft, Preskill and Sleezer co-authored the 1997 book *Human Resource Development Review: Research and Implications*. The studies highlighted in this book were published between 1990 and 1995. They overlap significantly with McLean and Russ-Eft's selection of "excellent" studies. Russ-Eft, Preskill and Sleezer selected studies based on the following:

- A well-grounded theoretical framework
- An appropriate mode of inquiry
- A systematic approach to research
- A well-executed methodology
- A well-grounded analysis and interpretation
- An original contribution to the field
- A clear and well-organized written presentation
- An appeal to a large audience

This collection of studies is organized according to learning and performance on individual, team and organizational levels. This structure situates the research inquiry solidly in the realm of corporate settings with a focus on organizational performance and learning. There are no studies related to women in this collection. Two of the fifteen studies in this book address power in organizations. There are also articles related to cross-cultural issues. A striking characteristic of this collection is the diversity of qualitative research designs.

Analyzing 1997 Academy of HRD Proceedings. 121 papers were reviewed for this arm of the study. They were coded according to Worell's six points. The first point was "Challenges traditional scientific inquiry." The papers were sorted into four methodological categories: 1) traditional/experimental, 2) non-traditional, 3) theoretical/framework and 4) literature review. Refer to Table 1 for results. The split between traditional and non-traditional approaches was about even. Excluding the literature reviews and theoretical papers, the traditional and non-traditional approaches represented 47% and 53% of the research, respectively. 38% of the total papers applied a non-traditional method of inquiry such as case study, interviewing, content analysis, observation, participative inquiry, critical incident technique or narrative analysis. The findings on the other five points are grimmer as depicted in Table 2.

Table 1: 1997 AHRD Conference Proceedings Methodology

Methodology	#	%
Traditional/Experimental	41	33.88
Non-traditional	46	38.02
Theoretical/Framework	24	19.83
Review of literature	10	8.26

The next table shows the breakdown of studies according to Worell's six points, including methodology. On Worell's second point, "Focus on women's experiences and lives," five studies, or 4% met this criterion (Cordak, 1997; Cseh, 1997; Jackson & Wiswell,1997; McDonald, & Hite, 1997; Pegg, 1997) . Six studies considered asymmetrical power arrangements, or nearly 5% (Attwell, 1997; Callender & Wiswell, 1997; Daley, 1997; Dilworth, 1997; Dirkx, 1997; Smith & Lewis, 1997). Ten studies, or 8%, recognized gender as a category of analysis (Cordak, 1997; Dilworth & Willis, 1997; Jackson & Wiswell,1997; Kwakman, K. H. E., 1997; Leitsch, & Lentz, 1997; McDonald & Hite, 1997; Pegg, 1997; Raines, 1997; Redmann, Stitt-Gohdes, & Lambrecht, 1997; Wentling, 1997).

Six of the studies, or 5%, attended to "Language and the power to name." Bradfield, Aquino, and Stanwyck (1997) looked at the effects of blame attributions and justice violations on revenge and forgiveness in the workplace. Cordack (1997) addressed diversity management in non-profit women's health care settings and analyzed their experience according to race, class and gender. Dirkx (1997) examined the meaning of learning in HRD. Jackson and Wiswell

(1997) investigated the role of HRD in the welfare revolution. Pegg (1997) did an interpretive study on women of color and their experience in corporate America. Wentling (1997) analyzed diversity training in business and industry.

Table 2: 1997 AHRD Conference Proceedings according to Worell's Feminist Research Framework

Feminist Framework	#	%
Challenges traditional scientific inquiry	46	38.02
Focuses on women's experiences and lives	5	4.13
Considers asymmetrical power arrangements	6	4.96
Recognizes gender as category of analysis	10	8.26
Attends to language and the power to name.	6	4.96
Advocates social activism and change	14	11.57

The final category of analysis, "advocacy of social activism and change," was the second most frequent feminist criterion after challenging traditional paradigms of scientific inquiry. Fourteen studies or 11% of the proceedings fell into this category (Attwell, 1997; Bierema, 1997; Cseh, 1997; Dilworth, 1997; Dirkx, 1997; Jackson & Wiswell, 1997; Lynham & Swanson, 1997; Pegg, 1997; Rowden, 1997; Smith & Lewis, 1997; Vind, 1997; Wentling, 1997; wright, 1997). Four of the studies or 3% receive "honorable" mention for meeting four or more of the criteria. Note again that none of the studies met the criteria on all six counts. The 1997 honorable mentions are: Cordak, Jackson & Wiswell, Pegg and Wentling. These studies focused on diversity and women of color.

The Challenge of Feminist HRD Research

Admittedly, this brief critique does not capture all HRD research, but serves to summarize the most comprehensive, current HRD research. Both the direction and omissions are startling. Indeed, the books provide useful models of research and fill a previously vacant niche in HRD literature. However, the research books stop short of truly challenging the assumptions HRD researchers bring to their studies. They fail to include many HRD contexts beyond industrial, corporate organizations. Diverse voices are not heard.

The AHRD proceedings also paint a disheartening picture of where the HRD field is headed. Other than promoting alternative research designs, and to a lesser degree advocating social change, there is little focus on issues of social justice in the workplace or larger social context. Women's experience is ignored, as are asymmetrical power arrangements. Gender is not used as a category of analysis—even when data are collected by gender. Organizational "undiscussables" such as sexism, racism, patriarchy, or violence receive little attention in the literature, yet have the most impact on organizational dynamics. Finally, HRD research has only weakly advocated change. These findings are cause for alarm. Is HRD research reproducing existing power relationships in organizations? Is HRD research in the service of corporate executives and shareholders? What are responsible HRD researchers to do?

Just as there are many feminisms, so too are there many types of feminist research. The purpose of this paper was not to argue for one feminist methodology, but rather to challenge HRD researchers to approach the knowledge creation process more critically. DeVault noted that, "the dilemma for the feminist scholar, always, is to find ways of working within some disciplinary tradition while aiming at an intellectual revolution that will transform the tradition" (in Burke, 1978, p. 855). HRD researchers need to challenge their traditions in both research and practice. The feminist research framework offers a critical platform to begin this work. HRD researchers can benefit by stepping back and assessing how or if HRD research contributes to social and political change, versus reinforcing the status quo.

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Human Capital Versus Market Signaling Theory: The Case with Adult Literacy

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Abstract. Human capital and market signaling theory are compared using data from the Statistics Canada Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities (1990). The results indicate that both theories explain variations in annual income and number of weeks worked. Employers use education credentials (market signaling theory) to select employees who are then rewarded with earnings based on their literacy levels (human capital theory). Implications of these findings for policy and practice are presented.

This study compares two classic theoretical explanations which have been advanced to account for the relationships among education, labour market participation and earnings. Unlike other empirical tests of the theories however, in this study they are compared within the narrowly defined context of functional literacy skills and the broadly conceived construct of education credential level.

Human capital theory (Schultz, 1960; Becker 1964; Hanoch, 1967) posits that investments in education (literacy in this case) result in higher labour market participation, productivity and market earnings. Persons with similar levels of education achieve similar levels of labour market participation, productivity and earnings, on average, as other persons with similar socio-demographic and labour market characteristics. The alternative theory, market signaling, (Arrow, 1973; Spence, 1974; Stiglitz, 1975) claims that while education (literacy in this case) results in higher productivity, employers use education credentials to infer, that is to recognize as a signal, that an employee, or prospective employee, has the potential to achieve high levels of productivity, to be trainable without incurring unnecessary costs and therefore, to merit higher earnings. Persons with knowledge and skills (literacy in this case) who lack educational credentials cannot signal their potential to an employer, therefore they do not get hired, or if hired they do not get promoted, do not have access to training and consequently do not achieve the benefits that their education (literacy skills) merits.

Human capital theory suggests that literacy programs, whether community or work-place based, which focus on improving levels of literacy, but do not offer a recognized and transferable credential, will allow participants to achieve higher labour market participation, productivity and earnings. Signaling theory, on the other hand, suggests that greater access to the labour market and gains in earnings will occur only when higher levels of literacy are also accompanied by the acquisition of a recognized and transferable education credential.

Method

Data from the 1989 Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities (Statistics Canada, 1990) was used to test the two competing theories. The effects of functional literacy level and education credentials on number of weeks worked and annual income are compared using a weighted national labour force sample of persons aged 16 to 69 [1] (Statistics Canada, 1990). The test of human resource development versus signaling theory in this initial exploratory study of the question is elegantly simple, expressed as a two way factorial analysis of covariance (SPSS, 1990). If persons in the labour market, both the employed and unemployed, are subjected by employers to educational credential scrutiny they can be differentiated into groups and the interactions between literacy levels and credentials can be depicted by sign patterns as indicated below:

Table 1: Predicted Sign Patterns of Relationships Among Literacy, Education and Income/Labour Market Activity.

			Education Credentials	
		No High School Credential	High School & No Post Sec. Credential	Post Sec. Credential
Functional	Low	- - -	- - (- 1/2) (+ 1/2)	- - +
Literacy	Moderate	- - +	- (- 1/2) (+ 1/2) +	- + +
Levels	High	- + +	(- 1/2) (+1/2) + +	+ + +

The main effects of literacy are the effects of the literacy categories averaged across the credential categories and similarly the effects of credentials are averaged across the literacy categories. If employers rely on credentials to make decisions regarding hiring, promotion, training and salary we can expect those decisions to be reflected in higher levels of employment duration and earnings for those with credentials. If employers do not respond to credentials, as signals of employee potential, the effect of literacy will be constant across credential levels. It was expected that there would be no interaction between literacy level and education credential when both categories were either high (+++) or low (---).

Literacy scores were grouped using the five categories of functional literacy behavior established by Statistics Canada [ii]. Education credential level, a five category variable, was created from responses to the survey question "What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?" [iii] Two of the five categories included persons who lacked formal education credentials important in the labour market. Category one included respondents who did not have a high school completion certificate or diploma and category three included respondents who had completed high school and taken some further education or training but lacked a post-secondary certificate or diploma. The categories which included respondents with credentials were: category two, persons with a high school completion certificate; category four, respondents with a post-secondary community college or technical institute certificate or diploma; and category five, university baccalaureates and above. The effects of gender, age, nativity, industry and occupation, known from previous studies of this data set to impact on labour market participation (Blunt 1991a & 1991b), were controlled by entering them as covariates. Two analyses were conducted, the first with household income as the dependent variable and the second with total number of weeks worked in the preceding year, as the dependent variable.

Results

As anticipated from previous studies (Blunt, 1991a & 1991b) both literacy and education levels were associated with income. Also each of the covariates demonstrated significant effects on the two dependent variables (See Table 2).

Table 2: ANACOVA Summary Table - Income by Literacy level, Education Level, Sex, Age, Nativity, Occupation and Industry.[1]

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Main Effects	1959441	8	244930	120	<.001
Education Level	1635708	4	408927	85	<.001
Literacy Level	323732	4	80933	42	<.001
Interaction (Ed x Lit)	218409	15	14560	25	<.001
Covariates					
Sex	4058946	1	4058946	562	<.001
Age	3213437	1	3213437	339	<.001
Nativity	16616	1	16616	10	<.001
Occupation	1693545	1	1693545	28	<.001
Industry	61	1	61	27	<.001

Unexpected variations in the dependent variable means, were observed in those cells where low numbers of respondents were encountered. (See for example, Literacy level one and Education level one in Table 3 and Table 4). It appears likely that some estimates of the dependent variable in certain categories are biased by the small sample size.

The analysis revealed that persons holding the same levels of literacy, after controlling for the effects of sex, age, nativity, occupation and industry, are rewarded with higher incomes as their level of education increases. For example persons functioning at literacy level two who did not complete high school had an average income of $12,100 pa increasing to $35,000 pa for those with a university degree (See Table 3). Similarly, persons with the highest literacy level, level five, had an average income of only $15,150 pa if they did not complete high school and an average income of $15,900 pa if they did. Incomes for this group increased to $24,450 pa if they had a post-secondary credential and to $36,000 pa if they had a degree or higher credential.

It was also observed that within each level of education higher levels of literacy were associated with higher incomes. For example, average incomes for those persons who did not complete high school (Education level 1) increased from $12,100 pa at Literacy level 2, to $15,150 pa if they scored at level 5 on the functional literacy test (See Table 3). For those who had earned a post-secondary credential (Education level 4) their average income increased from $14,300 pa if they were functioning at literacy level two, to $24,450 pa at literacy level five. These findings demonstrate that education levels mask a wide range of literacy skills. Consequently, employers' reliance on education credentials in the hiring process frequently results in unsatisfactory decisions.

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[1] Similar results were obtained for the analysis with "number of weeks worked" as the dependent variable. Space did not permit the inclusion of both ANACOVA tables.

Table 3: Mean Personal Annual Income by Education and Literacy Level

	Education Level					
Literacy Level	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1[2]	13,800	34,500	14,300	15,000	23,550	16,650
2	12,100	14,450	14,200	14,300	35,000	13,200
3	13,500	14,700	15,750	17,550	35,800	14,700
4	13,050	15,000	16,200	25,350	33,500	17,550
5	15,150	15,900	14,300	24,450	36,000	19,350
Total	13,250	15,300	15,150	24,450	34,500	16,500

Similar effects of literacy and education level on number of weeks worked were observed in the second analysis with the dependent variable of number of weeks worked. Persons who had not completed high school (Education level 1) worked an average of only 41.98 weeks pa increasing progressively to 47.45 weeks for those persons with university degrees (Education level 5) (See Table 4). Those with the lowest levels of literacy worked the fewest number of weeks per year. Persons with level two literacy for example, worked an average of only 43.32 weeks while those with level five literacy worked 45.95 weeks per year.

Table 4: Mean Number of Weeks Worked In Preceding Year by Education and Literacy Level

	Education Level					
Literacy Level	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1[3]	44.20	43.90	32.72	52.00	22.86	43.86
2	39.91	45.27	45.21	48.42	52.00	43.32
3	41.02	44.82	45.00	45.01	51.70	43.34
4	42.36	44.42	44.24	47.15	47.24	44.50
5	47.50	45.00	45.88	45.28	46.38	45.95
Total	41.98	44.61	44.74	46.55	47.45	44.25

Similar patterns were observed for persons with level two literacy who worked an average of 43.32 weeks increasing to 45.95 weeks for those with level five literacy. A comparison of those who did not complete high school (Education level 1) with those who held a high school diploma (level 2) demonstrates that those persons who lack the credential, yet who have the same level of literacy, work fewer weeks per year. Persons with level two literacy, for example, who lack the credential work on average only 39.91 weeks, as compared to 45.27

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[2] The mean incomes reported for Literacy level 1 may be inaccurate. There may be anomalies in the data due to the very small sample size for this literacy group.

[3] The mean number of weeks worked reported for Literacy level 1 may be inaccurate. There may be anomalies in the data due to the very small sample size for this literacy group.

weeks for those with the same level of literacy who hold the credential. At level four the difference is between 42.36 weeks worked for those who did not complete high school as compared to 44.42 weeks for those who hold a completion certificate or diploma.

Discussion

The analysis sought to answer the question, "Do employers reward literacy (through hiring, promotion and salary decisions) only when literacy is accompanied with an educational credential? The answer appears to be a qualified "No". Human resource development theory provides an explanation for variations in employees' incomes and the claims of employers that they do reward higher levels of literacy in the work place is given credence by the study findings. However, the data also clearly indicates that employers use education credentials to select and promote employees, thus evidence of the use of market signaling theory is also confirmed.

Adult basic education's (ABE) major target population, the marginalized, who are frequently non-credentialled and unemployed, are highly disadvantaged by employers' use of education credentials (market signaling) when making hiring decisions. A major implication of this study for adult education policy and practice is therefore, that for adult basic education, and workplace literacy education programs, to serve as an effective instrument to reduce income inequalities in society, ABE program outcomes need to do more than provide learners with related literacy skills. Rather, they need to provide a transferable credential which will enhance the hiring prospects of unemployed learners and the future prospects of employed learners should the latter leave, or lose, their current jobs.

It is an ethical requirement for adult educators to determine whose interests are being served by the programs they deliver. To what extent are workplace programs enabling employed learners to perform work more efficiently for their current employers while failing to provide an important collateral benefit to the employees? Are literacy programs which do not offer recognized credentials, yet which use public funds, better serving the interests of employers and adult education providers than the interests of their participants? Regardless of who bears the costs of work place literacy education, employers, employees, government or a combination of each vested interest group, the long term interests of each party are best served by the awarding of earned, publicly recognized credit and marketable credentials. Organized labour, working with employers to provide workplace education programs needs to consider the role of education credentials in hiring and promotion decisions and to negotiate with ABE providers and employers for the awarding of credentials and the "laddering" of programs to derive the greatest benefits from participation for their members. Colleges and other providers of contracted workplace and community based ABE programs need to consider innovative means of serving the labour markets' learning and credentialling needs.

What is needed, particularly by those adults whose levels of literacy exceed their education credentials (years of schooling) is a challenge, or testing program and assistance in the development of a publicly certified resume which can "signal" their employment potential and capabilities to prospective employers. The means of awarding recognized and transferable credit or credentials might include, for example, the increased use of prior learning assessment (PLA) or challenging GED examinations or local high school or post secondary program outcomes. Public education agencies need to recognize that for many adults additional levels of literacy will not be sufficient to assist them to gain and retain employment. One additional benefit from providing workers with accurate statements of their knowledge and skills may be to halt the increasing practice of credential inflation, another hiring practice which disadvantages those who hold the lowest credentials and which contributes to the underemployment of many others.

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[i] See Appendix C of the Survey of Literacy Skills used in Daily Activities, Microdata User's Guide (Statistics Canada 1990) for details of the survey weighting procedures.

[ii] The literacy levels reported by Statistics Canada were based on four definitions of functional literacy (See Jones, 1990) however, level four, "meets most everyday reading demands", was very large and diverse. To assist with more detailed analysis of the data Statistics Canada created a fifth category representing the highest scores in level four.

[iii] The five education categories are: 1) Less than secondary school completion; 2) Secondary school certificate or diploma; 3) Some trade/vocational training, trade/vocational training certificate or diploma; some university or college 4) Certificate or diploma from a community college, technical institute, teacher's college, nursing school; 5) Bachelor degree or above.

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Panoptic Variations:
Surveillance and Discipline in Web Courses

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Abstract: *Disciplinary surveillance nested in some Web courses violates principles of adult education. Using Foucault's notion of panopticism, the authors present a model that can be used to determine levels of disciplinary surveillance.*

Problem

The World Wide Web is hailed as the answer to fiscal crises in education evoked by neo-liberal restructuring and ascendancy of the "free market." It is seen as the harbinger of a new age in globally-accessible lifelong learning. In the chorus of enthusiasm for Web courses, apart from a few exceptions, both the left and the right sing in the same choir. However, adult educators are curiously silent on the subject. Apart from one paper presented last year, the Web has been a notable omission from the *Adult Education Research Conference*. Web courses are largely constructed by people who have never considered principles of adult education and while analyzing the architecture of 127 of them (Boshier, et. al. 1997) we noticed many replicate the worst features of face-to-face education. As adult educators we were particularly alarmed by the level of surveillance and discipline.

Adult educators foreground power relations and attempt to create optimal environments for learning. The experience of learners is respected and heavy surveillance and discipline avoided. Adult learners occupy the social roles of adulthood and may attend classes only when circumstances permit. Even in universities and colleges, they can miss the occasional class without penalty. But in Web-based courses the intermittent participant has no such flexibility. The instructor now has, and often uses, technology to monitor every instance of participation or lack thereof. The instructor can keep a full textual record of a learner's contributions, while remaining invisible themselves.

Conceptual Approach

At the centre of this study was Foucault's panopticon, which looms large in *Discipline and Punish.* The panopticon was based on Jeremy Bentham's plans for a medieval prison, where a central tower was surrounded by a circular cell block. Inmates could not see each other, nor could they see the keepers in the tower. Those in the tower could observe the inmates at any time

For Foucault the panopticon was a "striking emblem of everything he detested about modern society" (Miller, 1993, p. 220). The hapless inmates, lunatics or learners are illuminated by light from inside and outside windows corresponding to those in the central tower. Because of backlighting the captives stand out like a silhouette in the cells of the periphery. "They are like many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible" (Foucault, 1977, p. 201-202).

The panopticon is an architectural idea, suggested as a design for schools and factories as well as prisons but, more importantly, is a metaphor for power relations in contemporary society. In the architectural panopticon, the process is overt. In contemporary society surveillance and discipline is a subtle matter of files and record-keeping. The powerless are not told what is in the files, only that they exist. Senator McCarthy intimidated actors, unionists and activists in the 1950s with this technique. Hundreds of agencies conduct surveillance in the 1990s. In Web courses, surveillance requires little effort and discipline is easy to administer.

Web course surveillance is insidious because it is discreet and invisible. As Foucault described it, surveillance "dissociates power from the body" leaving it "compliant and normalized" ready to take orders from above like a soldier in a modern army (Miller, 1993). This bleak vision is contrary to the best principles of adult education which stress reciprocity, authenticity and open-ness. In Foucault's words, under a panoptic system of surveillance "there is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze upon which each individual under its weight will end by internalizing to the point that he is his own supervisor, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself" (Gordon, 1980, p. 155)

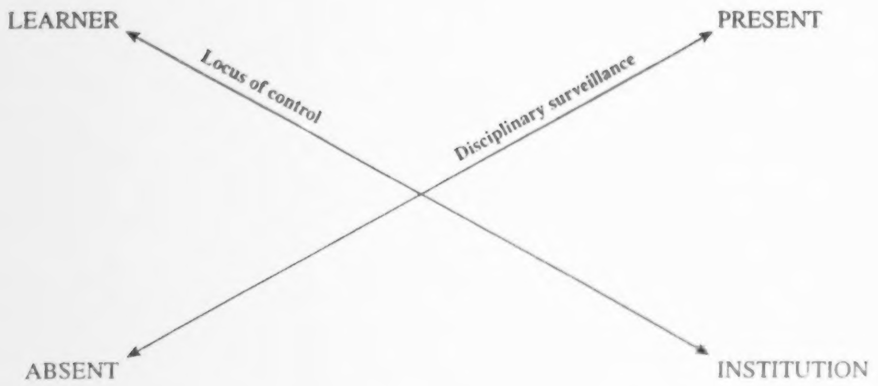
Discipline per se is not panoptic. Moreover, adroit course management need not involve disciplinary surveillance. For example, courses may have requirements that assignments be submitted by a deadline date, with consequences for lateness clearly stated. By contrast, panoptic discipline and surveillance is often vague and ill-defined. The overall effect of panoptic surveillance is to give learners the uncomfortable feeling they are being watched, their every move measured against an unknown standard. Participation may be required and marks awarded for it, with no published criteria telling learners how it will be judged. Learners may be warned they will experience repercussions for "inappropriate" behaviour but noone knows what constitutes "inappropriate." Sometimes, such as in a case cited below, it is almost inadvertent because those in power see their behaviour as merely helpful and not disciplinary. In the remainder of this paper our task is to:

1. Present a conceptual model for detecting panopticism in Web courses.
2. Deploy the model by locating different kinds of courses along and within its axes.
3. Discuss issues pertaining to panopticism in Web courses.

The Model

Panopticism arises from an interaction between two variables - Amount of Disciplinary Surveillance (Present .... Absent) and the Primary Locus of Control (Institution .... Learner). Fig. 1 shows the hypothesized relationship between these two variables. Hence, very panoptic courses are those where there's a high level of disciplinary surveillance and the institution is the locus of control. Those in the middle of Fig. 1 have merit but, in our view, still contain excessive amounts of disciplinary surveillance and insufficient learner control. The ideal (or best) courses are those on the left where the locus of control resides in the learner and there is an absence of disciplinary surveillance.

In a highly panoptic course where there is maximum surveillance/discipline, the instructor has access to all student work and interactions, sets the objectives, controls the coursework and administers punishments for failing to follow the preset plan. In some cases, surveillance is covert and creepy because learners are not aware of it. In a face-to-face class, radical or of-the-wall statements quickly dissipate with the passage of time. But, in an online environment a written record is created and, years later, a politician or other public figure, as well as ordinary citizens, could find themselves defending statements made years earlier and dutifully filed by an over-zealous instructor or classmate. The locus of control is entirely with the institution offering the course.



Minimum Security →	**Medium Security** →	**Maximum Security**
A: *Surveillance/Discipline*		
• Participation optional • No penalties for "incorrect" participation	• Participation required • Criteria for success defined • Penalties clear and linked to transgression	• Participation required • Criteria for success vague/absent • Penalties high
·B: *Locus of Control*		
• Negotiable requirements • Own pace scheduling • Assignments learner-designed	• Some flexibility • Deadlines negotiable • Flexibility but assignments preset	• Non-negotiable requirments • Scheduling restrictive

Fig. 1. Model for Determining Level of Panopticism in Web Courses

Deploying the Model

Courses were examined with reference to each axis in Fig. 1. The level of disciplinary surveillance was observed by a two step process:

1. Potential channels of communication and the role of the instructor (observer, participant, not involved) in each was noted .
2. Course materials, especially syllabi and instructions to students, were scanned and participation requirements, disciplinary procedures and related matters recorded.

Discussion

A. Concerning Disciplinary Surveillance: About 100 enrollees from Mexico, Asia and Canada and Europe were accessing an online course based in Canada and required to post 1000 word essays which others in the class were obliged to read and respond too. Not a bad idea except the volume of work was formidable and, because of the excessive size of discussion groups, a rebellion occurred. After Canadian women students complained to local designers they were surprised when the following message was posted by a "hired gun" - a "noted" male "expert" located in the USA. "Your initial reactions to online learning are about the same as most people: "Whew this is a lot of work" ….What's happening is that you are encountering real learning in the context of a university course (perhaps for the first time) … You have to learn some information management strategies to cope with the amount of material … and get used to being constantly over-stimulated." In other words "hang in there dear, you'll get used it because doctor knows best …" It was apparent that there had been some maneuvering in the observation tower because the attempt to subdue the restless inmates was made by an "authority" from afar, not from the immediate vicinity.

In the case just discussed the discipline was inappropriate but overt and posted in a public space. Other times it is covert and muted - "Students are required to submit at least one contribution to class discussion each week in addition to their responses to specific questions" [http://www.indiana.edu/~hperf558/] or "All students will participate in weekly online seminars" [http://sol.slcc.edu/b10/mgt202/mgt202courseinfo.html]. Other times it was foregrounded in an ominous fashion - " Do not abuse this conferencing system. We will take steps to filter out the culprits" [http://129.215.101.50/arch/arch1/a1home.html]. Even in exemplary Web courses the possibilities for surveillance are satirically noted. Hence "our club wielding Pinkerton agents, who keep us informed about the daily activities of suspicious History 102 students, inform us that quite a few rebels decided to postpone viewing Lecture 21 for a few days" [http://hum.lss.wisc.edu/hist102/new.html]. In this case malcreants were told to view a videotaped lecture. But, in other courses, surveillance and discipline is not a joke but an integral part of the teaching/learning environment. In some cases serious penalties are involved. Many institutions reinforce their authority by prominently displaying the portions of their ethical codes that relate to student behaviour. In others, penalties are not made explicit, but hinted at. It is the possibility of swift, undefined punishment that gives the panopticon its power.

B. Concerning Locus of Control: There are few Web courses where the locus of control resides with learners. These are usually non-credit courses, sometimes offered outside of institutions. For instance, a course designed to help people develop their artistic vision encouraged learners to set their own schedules and treat the course listserve as a support group, with the facilitator as "the group's glue" [http://ww.waterw.com/~lucia/aw.html]. Because of the historic stigma attached to distance education, Web course architects often have to answer to authorities who must be assured the online History 101 entirely replicates the face-to-face version. Instructors often warn learners that online courses are "even more work" than the face-to-face version. Web course architects that take this stigma on board sometimes expect too much reading and attempt to exert control over students to show they are as "good as" on-campus operations, and to insure that the outcomes they have promised can be delivered (Boshier & Pratt, 1997). This frequently takes the form of restrictive student assignments with answers based on "the textbook."

Doing Hard Time

In the second phase of this study the authors created a three-part typology and tentatively classified courses known to involve surveillance/discipline. Once the typology was refined the search for cases was extended beyond the courses previously examined by Boshier, et.al. (1997). To illustrate how the model works, the authors deliberately chose cases from different spaces nested in Fig. 1. Prisons vary according to their level of "security" (for the authorities, not the inmates.) Maximum security is for the "worst" offenders. Medium security (often reserved for smalltime crooks and property offenders) occupies a middle space and, at the other end of the continuum, there are minimum security prisons where inmates can work outside or interact with the local community. This metaphor describes Web courses with considerable accuracy.

Type 1: Maximum Security: In a fully panoptic Web course the instructor sits in the tower and enjoys an unobstructed view of all student actions and interactions. Listserves and conferences are continuously monitored. Interventions by the instructor are aimed at learner correction. Student evaluation is based on participation, but it may not be clear whether content, frequency or other factors are being evaluated. There are penalties (most often, poor marks, being tossed from the course and "black marks" on records) for transgression. Even in the "exercise yard" (chatroom) the learner is monitored and, in the Canadian case cited above, prison yard gossips and complaints can attract a response from the guards (designers, teachers, hired guns).

Example: In a college writing course the threat to deduct marks was used to ensure punctuality and attendance. Questions for an interview to be conducted by students were to be submitted in advance to the instructor. More marks were to be deducted if these were late. There was no suggestion that the instructor might help the learners revise or improve the questions. Assignments and requirements in this course were pre-specified [http://www.english.ttu.edu/skid-tech/index.html].

Type 2: Medium security. In this category are courses where the level and nature of the surveillance/discipline is not as blatant or offensive as in the first, but is, nevertheless, incongruent with widely accepted principles of adult education. Learners may have some opportunity to interact without observation. Instructor interventions are less frequent, and more contact with the outside world (via links to external sites) is allowed. However, unescorted roaming is not encouraged. Where links are used they directly pertain to the structure and purposes of the "home" course. The learner in this kind of course is akin to a prisoner on day parole attached to an electronic transmitter/sensor.

Example: In a computer problem-solving course, the schedule was fixed and the professor monitored the listserve discussion. The clearest instruction to students was, "Don't cheat." Assignments consisted of answering textbook questions. It was not made clear what form of student discussion would constitute "cheating" [http://www.ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jmtaylor/courses.htm]

Type 3: Minimum security. Courses in this category most approximate, but still violate, principles of adult education. Learners may be able to participate in group discussions that are password protected so the instructor cannot observe, but must also interact in other, instructor-monitored settings. Learners may be encouraged to participate in listserves and chatrooms outside the class, but required to provide a log of their participation to the instructor. In this type the learners are akin to prisoners on probation. They roam freely but their learning is still continuously monitored by the instructor.

Example: A *Human Issues in Computing* course required learners to participate in off-line activities and provide a report to the instructor of what they had done. The report had to be signed by others involved. The instructor participated in listserve discussions, and no disciplinary consequences flowed from "inappropriate" behaviour [http://www.science.cqu.edu.au/index.html].

Beyond the Prison Walls

Because of the stigma attached to distance education or open learning there is a continuing preoccupation with making Web courses resemble face-to-face courses. Unfortunately, many designers succeed. What results are courses that replicate the worst features of face-to-face education. The teacher is in charge. It is his or her experience that counts. Learners are minions who should shut up, ingest the valuable information offered and regurgitate it on exams. The tone is punitive.

Many courses on the World Wide Web are offered by higher education institutions and marketed to adult learners. Non-credit courses, more traditionally the province of adult educators, are also appearing on the Web in large numbers. All of these courses would, in our view, benefit from the insights of our field. Exemplary Web courses can be designed according to the principles of adult education. Such courses do not involve disciplinary surveillance and are attractive, accessible and involve high levels of and varied kinds of interaction (Boshier, et. al, 1997; Wilson, 1998). Thus far, though, adult education has had little impact on Web courses. The situation resembles that of the early 1980's when adult educators had to decide whether to "get involved" with HIV/AIDS education. Are we in or out? The Web has the capacity to nurture many and different kinds of interaction. In that and other respects it is "adult educational." Do we now grab the reins of this bandwagon or act as spectators who bemoan the efforts of technologists, multi-media "experts" and systems analysts? If adult educators don't get involved, others will.

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Animating Learning: New Conceptions of the Role of the Person Who Works with Learners

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Abstract This paper focuses on the role of the person who works with others to foster their learning and describes our struggle to make sense of this role. We identify a perspective termed animation, consider its features and discuss issues of context, identity and relationships between animators and learners.

Introduction

Our purpose here is to outline ideas concerning the activity and location of the person who works with others to promote their learning from experience. We start by reviewing the analysis which underpinned *Working with Experience: animating learning* (Boud and Miller 1996), in which the concept of animation was developed. We continue with a discussion of the progress of our subsequent ideas about animation. Our main focus is on the importance of viewing animation as a perspective on promoting learning rather than as a role which teachers or facilitators might adopt

Alternative traditions in fostering learning

The starting point for our analysis was the observation that considerably more attention had been paid in adult education to the learner than to the teacher. We noted that a learner-centred standpoint was characteristic of much of the discourse of the field, and reviewed literature which focused on the role of the person who works with learners. Freire's 'teacher' (1972), Tough's 'ideal helper' (1979) and the 'facilitator' described by both Brookfield (1986) and Heron (1989) represented some conceptions of how this person could be viewed. We saw these conceptions as having developed out of contrasting and often competing educational and social scientific traditions which provided theoretical frameworks for understanding relationships and processes in adult education. However, we felt that none of these traditions sufficiently addressed the complexities of the role of a person who promotes the learning of others in current adult education practice.

We identified two principal traditions which have been important in the development of theories of learning from experience and as having often been in conflict with one another. The first of these is the tradition of human relations training, counselling and adult learning which had its foundation in humanistic psychology and which developed particularly strongly in North America. In recent years this has become the dominant paradigm in relation to learning from experience in formal settings. Concepts such as self-directed and lifelong learning and an emphasis on the individual learner have characterised the discourse of this tradition. The second tradition developed in the context of collective social movements and political action. It focused more on groups than on individuals. It drew on continental European thought, such as that found in critical social theory, and on the values and practices of participatory action research which developed in third world countries as well as on newer currents of feminism and anti-racism. Social structural features of experience and constructs such as power and oppression featured more strongly in this tradition than the psychological or the personal.

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Until recently, much educational literature and practice has reflected divisions along these lines. Inappropriate polarities between the individual and the group, the psychological and the sociological and learning and control were emphasised at the expense of a deeper synthesis. Insights from one tradition were often ignored or dismissed by those in the other. This led to fruitless debates between protagonists and the impoverishment of practice. We intended our work to contribute to a coming together of these traditions, to bring insights from each to inform the theory and practice of adult education.

Developing the Notion of Animation

In *Working with Experience* we argued that a new notion of 'animation', which drew on features of each of the competing traditions, was required to capture the range of demands which are placed on those who foster the learning of others. We were concerned to establish ways of thinking about the role of the animator in learning, and to elaborate key elements of this role. We drew on our own experience of organising and promoting learning in a variety of contexts and our roles in national organisations concerned with adult and experiential learning and group relations training. We were also influenced by conversations and collaborations with other educators and writers who contributed essays to the book and by our reading of the literature on adult learning and social action.

In our earlier work we had been concerned to develop models of the process of learning from experience to focus attention on the key factors which could enable learners and those who promoted learning to examine their own practices. We saw the development of a model of animation as a way of connecting this work on learning and experience with consideration of the new roles demanded of teachers, trainers and facilitators in a post-modern world.

We referred to the process of working with the experience of others as 'animation', and to the person who works to promote others' learning as an 'animator'. We chose these terms as having connotations outside the learning context; the verb 'to animate' may be seen as implying actions such as to give life to, to quicken, to vivify, to enliven, to inspire, to encourage, to activate or to put in motion. These connotations fitted well with the concept we were attempting to articulate. We saw animators acting with learners, in situations where learning is an aspect of what is occurring, to assist them to work with their experience. Animators may operate within or on behalf of educational institutions, but, increasingly, fostering learning is not an activity bounded in this way. We agreed that animation entailed acknowledging that the notion of experience was not one which should be taken for granted, that present experience was framed by the past experience and social and cultural contexts of the learner and that it was influenced by other participants in the learning event. While instruction might be an aspect of animation in some situations, we did not see it as a necessary aspect.

We saw the main emphases in animation as being on learners and their needs and interests, and on the socio-cultural contexts which frame learning, create opportunities for learning and impose constraints which can block learning. We suggested that in order to create a useful model of animation it was necessary to move beyond the dualities which characterised much of the discourse of teaching and learning. Animation might be viewed simultaneously as an individual and collective enterprise, involving mind and body, taking account of cognitive and affective elements in learning, and situated within the spheres of the personal, the cultural and the character of generic skills, it would be prudent to assume that they are always related to a particular context or set of circumstances. The key elements which the theory of animation aimed to address were:

- relationships between animators and learners;
- the significance of feelings and emotions;
- context and discourse;
- creating micro-cultures;
- power and oppression;
- working with difference.

Further Developments in Animation

Following the publication of *Working with Experience*, we tested our ideas in different settings and continued conversations with a number of the contributors to the book (Miller, Boud *et al* 1997). Some of the reactions to the concept of animation were predictable; greater elaboration of many aspects of our approach was sought. But other responses were unexpected. For example, we were surprised by the strength of attachment that some of our colleagues had to the notion of the teacher, and their desire to incorporate features we had identified with animation into their conception of teaching. We also began to realise that many of our students were keen to appropriate animation as part of a new role, or perhaps a new label they wished to adopt. This involved treating animation as a functional set of activities or practices which could be learned in an unproblematic way. We were troubled by such a view which appeared to value certainty and control over understanding, responsiveness and respect for diversity.

In bringing together the various perspectives represented in the book we had envisaged that it might be possible to create a new, more encompassing notion of the animator as a person who worked with the experience of learners in ways sensitive to the cultural, political and power dimensions of the context in which learning was taking place. While it was easy to identify issues to which animators needed to pay attention, it became increasingly clear that animation should not be regarded as a new set of practices which people could be trained to perform. It was not a matter of synthesising traditions and establishing a more lengthy set of topics which animators, as distinct from teachers or facilitators, might need to address. The development of a new hybrid role, for example, can be a way of avoiding critical appraisal of whether fostering learning is usefully seen in terms of social roles rather than other concerns.

As our thinking developed, animation became less of a label for particular commitments and associated practices, more of a perspective or conception (similar, for example, to conceptions of learning as discussed by Marton, Hounsell and Entwistle 1996). In our present thinking animation is more akin to a conception of educational practice than to a new role. It is not a label for a new social role but a way of viewing the role of the other in fostering learning; it would not, for example, replace 'teacher' or 'facilitator'.

One of our intentions was to draw attention to the limitations of the perspectives embedded in particular roles such as those of teacher or facilitator and to focus on key issues and dynamics which underpin the multiple roles involved in helping others to learn. It is not appropriate, nor even possible, to delineate specific features of the role of animator as the practical activities which need to be deployed will vary considerably from context to context and with different intentions of learners. However, we believe that there are key concerns to be identified and elaborated. Actions resulting from their consideration will manifest in a very wide range of animator practices, many of which may appear similar to actions of teachers or facilitators.

which need to be deployed will vary considerably from context to context and with different intentions of learners. However, we believe that there are key concerns to be identified and elaborated. Actions resulting from their consideration will manifest in a very wide range of animator practices, many of which may appear similar to actions of teachers or facilitators. These key concerns can be summarised under the headings of context, identity and relationships.

Context. Context refers to the social, cultural, political, economic and technological milieu in which any act of learning occurs. It includes much more than the immediate institutional environment, curriculum or learning task: it encompasses all that impacts on learners and animators and frames their actions. Context defines the range of what it is possible to do and what outcomes are permissible. Context establishes boundaries for ways of thinking and it creates limits in ways which are not necessarily discernible to those on whom the limits are placed. This is not to say that context fully determines what is possible, but that unless they attend to context and its resulting dynamics animators may inadvertently perpetuate existing patterns which can control and limit learning. Context needs to be problematised, confronted, subverted or accepted if learning is to be promoted (Boud and Walker, 1998).

For example, in the context of a university, structures and processes such as assessment regulations, requirements of examiners and quality assurance mechanisms set limits on the freedom of both learners and animators to engage in or promote self-directed learning. Animators need at least to render these limitations visible to learners and to ensure that all involved in the learning process recognise the power relationships operating within the institution.

Identity. The actions of those who foster the learning of others can be influenced more by the identities they construct for themselves than by anything to do with the learner. Learning is often taken to occur at particular sites and to be defined by those sites (for example, it is often equated with what happens in schools). Teachers' identities are likely to be shaped by the institutional contexts in which they operate, by the academic and professional training they have experienced, by their socialisation into the teaching role, by peer group pressure and by the reward structures of the organisations in which they are employed.

If an animation perspective is adopted then issues of identity for both animators and learners need to be given critical consideration. Identity both constrains and permits different kinds of learning. Approaches to learning through autobiography and other self-reflexive devices which highlight the impact of past experience on current practice, which unpack the way in which people construct themselves and which illuminate diverse and shifting identities may form part of this critical process.

An example of the use of self-reflexive personal narratives for the exploration of changing identities and orientations occurs in a project with which one of us is currently involved (described more fully in Miller, Leung and Kennedy, 1997). Students are encouraged to engage in reflective writing about their experience of using the technologies which form the subject matter of their course as well as its means of delivery in order to unpack and analyse their identities in relation to technology and to engage in active (re)construction of their identities as their skills develop; thus they recognise their movement over time from technophobe to expert computer user. At the same time, animators in the project are engaging in their own autobiographical reflection in order to develop an understanding of their relationships with technology and of the development and limitations of their own expertise.

assumptions about the relationships between learners and those who work with them are subject to critical scrutiny and that where necessary new assumptions be negotiated.

Negotiation of relationships is not a straightforward matter. Learners and animators will rarely be in a position to identify their non-trivial needs and goals at an early stage and even more rarely will they be able to articulate them. This means that animators have particular responsibilities to monitor the nature of their relationships with learners. The consent of learners is needed if learning relationships are to be productive, and the negotiation of this consent requires delicate handling, particularly when learners may be unable to conceptualise uncomfortable elements of the experiences to come.

In one of the chapters in *Working with Experience* the sensitive nature of the negotiation necessary here is illustrated in an account of an animator's work with prison inmates serving life sentences for violent crimes. In this example one of the most challenging tasks the animator faced was gaining the consent of learners to confront them with their own actions and their consequences. Overcoming his own fear and gaining the trust of the learners were two aspects of animation practice (see Johnson 1996).

While there are many other concerns which the animation perspective needs to face, the identification of these three as central indicates the shift which we believe needs to take place in thinking about fostering learning. As conventional teacher-learner identities break down and as we recognise the profound effects of context on learning, a renewed emphasis on relationships is needed. This emphasis must be a sophisticated one which acknowledges the all-pervasive operation of power-knowledge (Usher and Edwards 1994). We need to look again at what is going on in teacher-learner and facilitator-learner relationships to see that the learning which is taking place may be quite different from what the two parties believe at the time to be happening, and that many new possibilities are available.

Conclusions

As we face an increasingly diverse and globalised world, learning can no longer be defined and limited by familiar educational institutions and personnel. There is an explosion of learning desires and needs which cannot be met in conventional ways. This creates a demand for new ways of looking at the process of fostering learning. As we increasingly find ourselves required to 'teach' what we don't know and what it is unrealistic for us to know, we need new ways of thinking about our role. The notion of animation which has been briefly outlined here offers one perspective which incorporates considerations of context, power and shifting identities.

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Mentoring Revisited
The African-American Woman's Experience

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Abstract. The mentoring experiences of African-American women and the potential of the experience for assisting in their career development are explored. Through in-depth interviews the mentoring influence in the career development of 14 African-American women was investigated. Findings point to barriers to the relationship and the potential of group mentoring as a way to assist in the psychosocial aspect of mentoring.

Sustained cross-cultural contact occurs primarily in the workplace as most Americans still live in segregated communities with little social interaction across racial lines. Research in the area of career development has rarely focused on the dynamics of cross-cultural mentoring, specifically with African-American women.

The voices of African-American women's experiences in America is a complex task characterized by the intersection of race, gender, and social class (Etter-Lewis, 1991). As a result, the experiences and life history of black women projects a different perspective to that of white women. This, coupled with the fact that the literature doesn't fully address the needs, concerns, and achievements of African-American women, the stereotypical images and expectations of these women are still held by many.

A barrier that appears to limit the professional success of African-American women, thereby limiting the contributions of these women, is that of not securing a mentor. Related research indicates that mentoring has been widely used in many organizations and has been acknowledged as a valuable tool for retaining and promoting employees as well as being beneficial as an avenue to career success. It has been recognized that within the dominant male culture, mentoring has been shown as an important factor in encouraging their success (Murray, 1991; Blackwell, 1991; Howard-Vital and Morgan, 1993).

Since research on mentoring experiences of African -American women is lacking in the literature, the purpose of this study is to determine the role mentoring has played in the professional development of a select sample of African -American women.

The Essence Of Mentoring

In recent years, popular and academic literature have drawn attention to the benefits that mentoring relationships can offer to proteges, mentors and organizations. Having a mentor has been linked to career advancement, higher pay, and greater career satisfaction. Moreover, the mentoring relationship may be critical to the advancement of opportunity to make productive use of knowledge and expertise in middle age and to learn in new ways. The organization also benefits, as future leaders are prepared, and may also find that employees who are mentored are more satisfied and committed than those who are not. An understanding of these developmental relationships becomes even more important given changes in demographic and labor market characteristics and competitive pressures (Dreher & Ash, 1990).

Not only does mentoring develop the profession; "...by not mentoring, we are wasting talent. We educate, and train, but don't nurture" (Wright and Wright 1987, p 207). The literature overwhelmingly points to benefits to the organization, the mentor, and the protégé. Mentoring is useful and powerful in understanding and advancing organizational culture, Mentoring is useful and powerful in understanding and advancing organizational culture, providing access to informal and formal networks of communication, and offering professional stimulation to both junior and senior faculty members. Mentoring is a continuation of one's development as defined by life cycle and human development theorists in terms of life sequences or stages, personality development, and the concept and value of care. (Erikson 1963 and Levinson et al 1978).

According to Thomas there is a strong need for examination of qualitative data on the effects of the mentor relationship with respect to minority groups (Thomas, 1990). Kalbfleisch and Davies (1991) study on the availability of mentors for black professionals indicated that race is significant in mentoring relationships involving blacks. They go on to conclude that race is the strongest predictor of pairing in mentor relationships. If same-race mentoring is as predominant as Kalbfleisch and Davies suggest, then blacks, and specifically black women, who are represented by very small numbers in positions of organizational power, may have several barriers in the progress toward advancement.

Methodology

For purposes of this study, qualitative inquiry was used, more specially in-depth interviews and literature analysis. The data were collected during taped, in depth, three to four-hour interviews with individual subjects. Questions for the interview were open ended but did focus on issues related to mentoring with regard to how the participants viewed the nature of work, career development, and how issues related to gender and ethnicity impacted them in the work force. After each interview, notes were made and the interview was transcribed verbatim.

At the onset of the study ten African-American women who were in professional positions in education and the non-profit sector were interviewed. A criteria in selecting the participants was that they hold, at minimum, a Bachelor's degree. As the study progressed it became apparent that this number needed to be expanded. During the interviews with the initial ten women, names of other individuals who were felt could provide additional and critical insights were shared. Consequently four additional women were interviewed for a total of 14 individuals. The inclusion of the additional participants is consistent with Lincoln and Guba's (1994) discussion on the emergent design of the qualitative study., The interviews took place over a period of twelve months. Each person was contacted, informed about the purpose of the study, and asked for their permission to be interviewed. All interviews took place at the work site.

Because many African-American women use the term Black or African American, the terms "Black woman" and "African-American woman" will be used interchangeably throughout the study. The use of a critical friend was enlisted as recommended by Anderson,, Herr and Nihlen (1994) to help clarify and critique the data.

Findings

All fourteen African-American women interviewed indicated that mentoring was very important to their career development. They also indicated that it was difficult for them to obtain traditional mentoring in their organizations. The barriers these women faced in obtaining traditional mentoring in their organizations seemed to fall into two areas: (1) Stereotypes of African-American women; and, (2) Racism.

Stereotypes Of African-American Women

Stereotypes of African-American women are compounded by stereotypes of women in general. When discussing the role of African-American women almost twenty years ago, Dumas states:

> The mass of black women in America are still at the bottom of the heap--among this country's underclass. And although increasing numbers of black women are beginning to occupy important positions of authority and prestige in organizations within and outside black communities, there are forces at work today as in the past that tax the physical and emotional stamina of these women, undermine their authority, compromise their competence, limit the power that they might conceivably exercise and thus limit their opportunities for rewards and mobility in the organization - not to mention the impact of these on job satisfaction (1979, p. 205)

Compounding the difficulty, according to Dumas, are the myths of the black matriarch which limit options and power in organizations by creating a one-dimensional image of the African-American women as a mother, loyal subordinate and pillar of strength for others in the organizations. Howard-Vital and Morgan in 1993 emphasiize that African-American women still face many of these same stereotypes in the workplace today (12th ed.).

> "The board that hired me and that I work with on a daily basis does not understand what it means to be black and female. For quite some time I was the only black employed by the organization. Not only was I the only paid employee but there were no blacks on the board. My mentor was my advocate for the job and quite frankly if I did not have her support for the first year, I don't think I could have survived it. There was never any overt prejudice but the conversation was very guarded. We really have come a long way. It just took them time because most of them had never had a professional experience with a black woman.
> (Executive, Non-profit Organization)

Gregory (1995) notes that Black women have shown tremendous resilience when confronted with the challenges of stereotyping. All of the women interviewed felt that one of the positive aspects of their mentor relationships has been the dismantling of the stereotypical notions of who they are. As one participant stated: "I let go many of my stereotypes about white men and he learned a lot about black women."

Racism

Cox (1993) has noted that majority and minority group members often differ significantly as to how much racism has declined in recent years. He reported that a study of over two-thousand adults indicated that African-Americans were almost twice as likely to believe that racism has actually increased during the past several years. As one of the participants stated:

> "I didn't realize at the time how much my mentor shielded me from the racism present in the organization. When she left to take a position with another financial institution and her replacement was named, he called me into his office, closed the door and stated that he could not figure out how I got here or why I was here. Basically he said this was it and I should look for another job. At that very minute I realized what an ally my mentor had been. I decided to fight this new manager for awhile but finally wound up suing. I won and he left the organization. I was offered numerous jobs but decided to leave as well."
> (Bank Executive)

Many of the women in this study used the word subtle when referring to racism. As one participant stated: "There was no overt racism...just lots of subtle things that would occur. I was never invited to participate in any of the networking groups that were of an information nature."

While many debate whether racism is declining, what is apparent is that there is still a considerable amount of racism both in the workplace as well as society as a whole. These issues have important implications for organizations and their leadership. As Cox (1993) reminds us, leadership of the organization must be educated to be more aware of these subtle forms of

While many debate whether racism is declining, what is apparent is that there is still a considerable amount of racism both in the workplace as well as society as a whole. These issues have important implications for organizations and their leadership. As Cox (1993) reminds us, leadership of the organization must be educated to be more aware of these subtle forms of racism. Where it is found to exist, it must be challenged and dealt with appropriately.

Group Mentoring

The African-American women in this study all agreed that their mentors played a significant role in their career development. Many also stated that they received limited psychosocial support. Ragins (1997) has noted that there is evidence that cross-cultural mentor relationships provide less psychosocial support than homogeneous relationships. Several of the women in this study pointed to the support they received from their churches.

> "My church was with me when I got into my doctoral program, encouraged me through the program and was there to celebrate with me when I graduated. They continue to be there for me." (University Administrator)

Gregory (1995) agrees and found that one of the greatest sources of strength for African - American women is the Black church which is also at the center of many in the Black community.

Another group that played a significant role in the psychosocial support of six of the women interviewed was a Black sorority, Delta Sigma Theta. It was founded in 1913 by 22 Black students at Howard University. Today there are 225 alumnae chapters. One of the goals of the sorority is to promote career development. As one women in the study commented, "Even though as members we are in a variety of professions, this sorority gives us the emotional support that we do not get in the workplace." Another participant stated, "I did not go to a college that had a Black sororities, My mother, however, was a member of the Deltas and I saw what support she was given to get through some really difficult times."

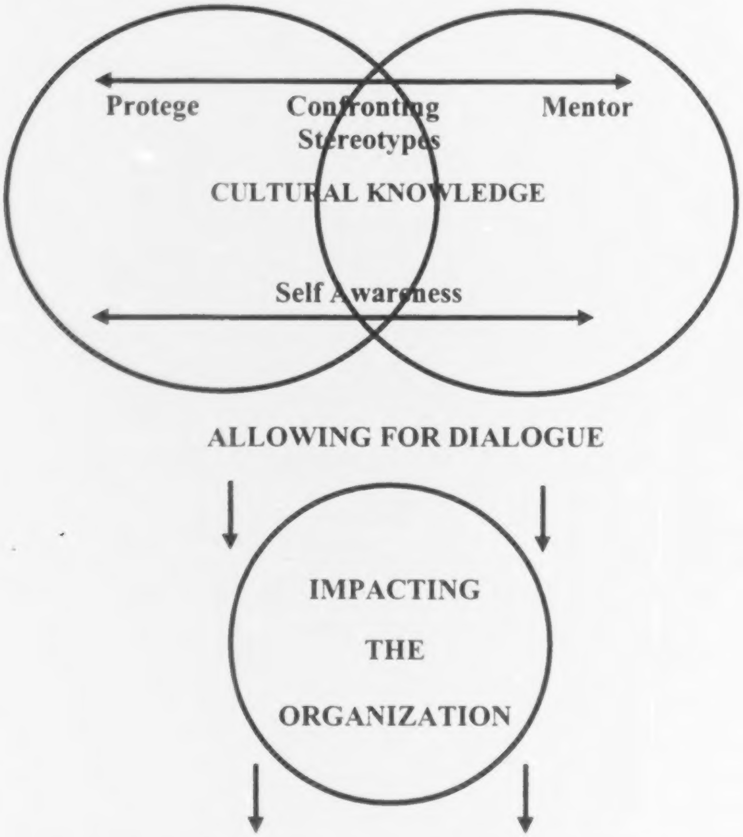
Dansky (1996) reports that groups may play a subtle but important role in the mentoring of their members. He goes on to report that groups serve their members better by nurturing more and teaching less. The notion of group mentoring is new and worthy of more investigating.

Discussion

The women who took part in this study all placed a high value on the mentor relationship and the positive affect it had on their career development. They also indicated that a great deal of learning took place on the part of both the mentor and the protégé. As one of the African-American women stated: "I learned a lot about white norms and he (mentor) also learned about me in the process."

Figure 1 shows some of what both the mentors and proteges indicated were the benefits of their cross-cultural mentor relationships and how these relationships benefited their organizations.

FIGURE 1
BENEFITS OF CROSS-CULTURAL MENTORING



- **CHANGE IN ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE**
- **IMPROVED COMMUNICATION**
- **INCREASED KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER CULTURES**
- **TEAM BUILDING INCREASED**
- **ENHANCED CAREER DEVELOPMENT**

These relationships in the work place allow for a mutual testing of stereotypes and attributions regarding differences and also allow for the development of cross-cultural communication skills. These findings should also be useful in the development of formal mentoring programs.

This study also points out the need for further investigations of the notion of group mentoring. Professional and social groups have played an important part in the career development of their members. What needs further investigation is the psychosocial support that development of their members. What needs further investigation is the psychosocial support that these groups provide. Adult Education Associations at both the local, state and national levels have historically stood for the ideals of democracy and inclusion. Further studies of how they have assisted in the mentoring process of their members, especially those from under represented groups, would add to this body of literature.

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Qualitatively Different Conceptions of Research: Implications for Adult Education Research

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Abstract. This paper reports on an investigation into academics' qualitatively different ideas about what research is and about what they are doing when they carry it out. It presents an overview of the literature, outlines the findings of the study and then discusses the implications for adult education research.

Introduction

Research, like teaching and learning, is central to academic life. Yet the process of research has not traditionally been a subject for investigation. While there is now well established research on conceptions of learning and teaching in higher education, empirical work on the ways in which research is experienced is hard to find. Consequently, there are many unanswered questions concerning the experience of doing research and a great deal of debate about the nature of academic research, including assumptions about how and why it is changing, most of which is uninformed by empirical studies. Among academics there appears to be agreement that research is characterised by disciplinary differences and that increased pressure to find funding and to publish is bringing about the "commodification" of research. These ideas are, however, without empirical foundation.

Background

In discussing the relevant literature it is necessary to distinguish investigations about the experience of research (such as the one discussed here) and research projects (which may be investigations of any kind in any discipline area). Among the very few studies which are examples of the former are Startup (1985) who researched academics' ideas about the impact of changes in higher education on how they viewed their research, and Bruce and Bahrick (1992) who looked at psychologists' perceptions of past research. Some accounts about how researchers carry out their research detail historical studies of famous researchers and research institutions.

Other, closely related areas are the sociology of science literature including ethnographic studies. Latour and Woolgar (1986) in their study, for example, show how scientists generate scientific facts. Their study confirms Feyerabend's (1975) contention that positivism (the tradition of inquiry which characterises conventional academic research) is an idealised description of what researchers actually do. Yet what is known about the process of research mainly comes, not from empirical studies, but from the theoretical literature on research methodology. Traditional inquiry characterised by positivism has come under question during the course of this century from many quarters. Questions about what counts as knowledge and what counts as an appropriate method for generating it, are now known to be intimately bound up with questions of power (Lyotard 1993). There are now many attempts to define research methodologies which transcend traditional rules. These include feminist research, participatory inquiry, action research and critical ethnography. In many new forms of inquiry, variously labelled "post-positivist" and "post-modern," there is a tolerance of multiple perspectives. There is also the assumption (empirically unsubstantiated) that these ideas are having a significant impact on academic research.

Other areas of research literature related to this project include the relationship between research, teaching and scholarship; research policy issues; research output and the nature of the academic profession. Much of this work focuses on the outputs of research rather than on the process of doing it (Brew and Boud 1995). For example, in the extensive literature on the relationship between research and teaching a range of mechanistic research indicators such as number of publications, citation score, membership in research societies, judgments of departmental heads and research grants received are used. Such research would benefit from the articulation of qualitatively differentiated conceptions of research (Brew & Boud 1995).

Research Design

The methodology for this project drew from phenomenography and from cooperative inquiry. Phenomenography differentiates qualitatively different conceptions through the iterative analysis of qualitative data. In this project, it was used to examine qualitatively different conceptions of research. Thirty University of Sydney academics were interviewed in the first phase of the study. These researchers were all holders of highly competitive, large, Australian Research Council (ARC) grants. There is evidence that a high level of seniority is required to acquire such grants (Bazeley et al 1997). Participants were chosen to reflect Habermas' (1987) three knowledge constitutive interests and were thus from a spread of traditional academic disciplines. In phase two of the study, a similar number of academics engaged in a wider range of research and from other institutions was interviewed.

The findings were built upon by using the technique of research cycling derived from cooperative inquiry (Heron 1996). Initial findings were fed back to the participants for discussion and their comments informed further analysis.

Findings

The intention in phenomenography is to represent the "outcome space" (Dahlgren 1997) which characterises the views of participating researchers. This study has resulted in the identification of four qualitatively different conceptions of research. These have been labled the domino, the trading, the layer and the transformation conceptions respectively.

Conception 1: Domino Conception. In this conception research is viewed as involving separate phenomena. It is described as a series of separate tasks, events, things, activities, problems, techniques, experiments, issues, ideas or questions each of which is viewed as distinct. More often than not the aim is to solve distinct practical problems. For example:

> My interests are in industrial drying technology, but that covers quite a large number of different sub-areas and techniques. That includes the use of computational fluid dynamics techniques and also the use of process flow sheet and techniques, together with advanced optimisation techniques so there's quite a wide range of techniques ... on a range of different problems. ... [ARC07]

Just as dominoes are separate, but can be combined in a number of patterns, so too, separate elements of research are conceptualised as illuminating other elements. However, in describing separate things, researchers with this conception often focussed on the activity of linking them. The task may be conceived as firstly identifying a problem or question and breaking it down into a number of sub problems and then working on these. Solving one problem or finding an answer to one question can set up a chain reaction in regard to other problems or further questions like in a "domino effect" where dominoes are lined up and each falls in turn. A number of reactions in different directions and on different levels may occur.

> If you find an answer then there are subsidiary questions that stem from that and then eventually you find questions that don't have a good answer in the literature and those are the ones that we tend to pursue ... If you look at it as a tree, here's one question and answer, then off that comes various understandings that pin on that one. Then as you go up that dendrogram ... the number of possible questions is proliferating as you go up from

> those levels. So if you answer a basic question then you essentially open doors in a whole series of other directions ... [ARC19]

The domino conception also includes the idea that while the researcher acquires knowledge, skills, facts and techniques in the process of doing research, these are essentially separate from the researcher as a person. Research is not thought to impact on their life or change the researcher in any significant way.

Conception 2: Trading conception. What is quite remarkable in this conception is the way in which researchers always came back to the idea of the finished product and how the researcher was going to be seen at the end of it. Research here is for an audience and is essentially viewed as a social phenomenon; as an arena for social interaction. The trading idea here parallels a village fair where research outputs and ideas are commodities which are exchanged in social discourse. Research outcomes, (publications, research grants or the achievement of objectives), provide a constant reference point.

> you go and give papers and that sort of thing, ... by giving papers you talk to other researchers in the field, the main body (of work) is there. You interact with others through email as well. [ARC11]

While there are echoes of the domino conception, because frequently outcomes are viewed as separate entities, in the trading conception, not only are research activities described in social terms, but ideas and projects are also presented as the ideas and activities of people (research assistants, collaborators and other researchers in the field) i.e. as located in a social context. Researchers demonstrating this conception present themselves as being part of an international community of past and present members and stress the importance of being valued by that community:

> I'm sure in most fields there is a very strong sense of ... those people who have worked before you. ... [a] very powerful sense of great personalities, ... academic fields are very much stamped by these … there's a great feeling that you're actually up there with them ... [ARC01]

Conception 3: Layer conception. It is helpful to think of this conception as describing two or more layers. Reality is presented as a surface and the researcher is concerned with illuminating, bringing to light or uncovering the phenomena, descriptions or explanations lying beneath that surface.

> research is about finding out something that you … and other people didn't already know ... trying to get at another level of what people were doing … So.... adding another dimension ... [ARC20]

While superficially the layer conception appears to have similarities with interpretive research, it is not tied to such methodologies. Embodied in this conception are different ideas about the ontological status of findings.

> We thought, as a hypothesis that a mangrove growing in very deep water that has to store a lot of oxygen and therefore has to ventilate a lot when it's exposed compared with a mangrove living high on the shore where it's nearly always exposed and therefore can get oxygen all the time. We thought that we would have a different structure, ... but, as it turned out, the mangrove appears to be preprogrammed, at least in it's first few years of life, so they know they are going to form that much root, that much air space, that many peg roots, and that's it. So that was unexpected [ARC08]

In this quotation there is a sense that what is being sought is a correct description of a reality that exists. It has a sense of discovery about it. However, the task of examining the layer underneath may rest on the idea that there actually is no such thing as a correct explanation nor that it is possible to describe it. What is being sought is simply a "better" explanation. There is, in addition, the idea of research as an artistic process; meaning is created, not discovered. Yet in all of these variations there is still the sense of illuminating an underlying layer:

> I think of it sometimes like painting where you're working with a palette knife and you're constantly touching it up, jumping back into earlier parts of what you've written, adding new data, it's just a constant ... creative process. .... [ARC01]

Conception 4: Transformation conception. In the fourth conception, research is experienced as personally transformative. There is frequently the idea of a personal journey and an emphasis on the assimilation of research into one's own life and understanding. In the transformation conception intellectual activities in which the researcher engages, whether or not they appear to have a direct bearing, are viewed as relevant to the research because they inform the life issues which underpin the research questions. The researcher is transformed by this. The topic of the investigation is merely a vehicle for exploring the issues and is less important than the underlying questions posed.

> the whole field work experience is a much deeper basis than simply collecting a bunch of data, it actually has major transformative effects on the personality. [ARC09]

There is the idea that the issues have been explored over a long period of time and are intimately bound up with a person's career and, indeed, life.

> For me, research is a kind of transcendental therapy, that's the best way to express it. ... a kind of Tantra. It transforms one through the process of engaging in it . ... It's the most intensive form of psychotherapy you can do [ARC09]

Implications for Adult Education Research

Academic disciplines or subject areas are often used in policy documents and discussions to provide an explanatory framework for differences in research. What we see in this study is that researchers' underlying conceptions provide a much more satisfactory explanation of differences. While scientific and technical disciplines tend to be represented more in the domino conception, this is not exclusively so. The humanities and social science disciplines are also represented. On the other hand, while there are more examples of humanities research in the transformation conception, again, scientific disciplines are also represented. In the trading and layer conceptions there is similarly a spread of discipline areas. Interestingly, researchers from any one discipline can be represented in any or all conceptions. It is therefore to be expected that adult education researchers would be represented in all conceptions.

By demonstrating qualitatively different ways in which research is experienced, this framework provides a basis for understanding a number of phenomena relating to adult education research which have hitherto been insufficiently understood. For example, they provide a way of understanding difficulties with or non-completion of research degrees due to incompatible conceptions of supervisor and student. Further, it is possible, on the basis of a knowledge of the conceptions, to predict future research output of colleagues; for some conceptions are more likely to lead to publications than others. The trading conception for example primarily focusses on publication. This is not the case with the transformation conception.

Perhaps more importantly, however, these conceptions are important in relation to debates about the ways in which research is changing and about the effects of research policies. As such they elucidate dilemmas experienced by adult education researchers. The focus on publication enshrined in government funding policy, for example, in the UK and in Australia, may be interpreted by researchers as emphasising the trading conception of research. Indeed it would appear from this study that the emphasis on the trading conception within such policies has had a more significant impact on changing research than the broad shifts in the intellectual climate mentioned earlier. Such policies place the transformation and to some extent the layer conceptions under threat. This is particularly worrying in the field of adult education where research is often used as a vehicle for personal learning and transformation and where researchers may be endeavouring to to establish new forms of research within institutional, social and political constraints.

When researchers with different conceptions met in the cooperative inquiry phase of this investigation, it was found that they were unable to communicate effectively. They shared the same language and endeavoured in meetings to find common ground, but essentially talked at cross purposes. It was possible to explain their miscommunications by reference to the differences in their conceptions. Usher and colleagues (1997) point to the difficulty experienced by the field of adult education in negotiating its way through different research traditions in the conditions of postmodernity. Different conceptions of research provide ways to understand different orientations in adult education research. They are therefore important for anyone trying to make sense of different methodologies, and in particular for those new to research. Being clear about one's own way of viewing research provides a basis for making sense of others'. However, it must be recognised that some of the conceptions may preclude an understanding of the others. Qualitatively different conceptions of research each lead to different research discourses. Faced with those different discourses we can, with a knowledge of the different conceptions, analyse debates anew. They can thus provide a basis for analysis and decision-making.

Conclusion

This research has begun to elucidate a neglected field of inquiry, namely, the way academic research is experienced. Future work could include extending the study to a comparison of established researchers' conceptions with those of novices, a comparison between the conceptions of males and females and researchers with different cultural backgrounds and work to integrate conceptions of research, conceptions of teaching and conceptions of learning. In addition, further research is needed to elucidate how stable these conceptions are over time and whether or not they are likely to change from one research project to another. Whether a person's conception is a consequence of doing research of a particular kind and on a particular topic, or whether researchers choose the research topics they do because they have particular conceptions of research is also an interesting area for future research. In studies of students' conceptions of learning, some students were shown to exhibit different conceptions in different circumstances (Ramsden 1997). Further empirical work is needed to establish if this is also true of researchers.

Whenever a process of inquiry is talked about or engaged in, what is said and done is dependent upon underlying conceptions about the nature of research. These influence the types of projects researchers feel comfortable pursuing, the choice of methodology, the questions, ideas and issues pursued and the ways in which the work is carried out. Further research is clearly needed to elucidate the relationships between conceptions and what researchers do. The findings which have been reported in this paper, however, have thrown light on aspects of research which are often hidden from view but which influence research at every level. They represent a first step in explaining differences in researcher orientations and practice.

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Cohort Communities in Higher Education: The Best Example of Adult Education

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Abstract. Cohort groups facilitate relationships that encourage learning and act as a support for individuals. The underlying philosophy of a cohort is that learners become empowered and have a sense of ownership for their academic development. A sense of respect and collegiality were the most important outcomes and experiences in the cohort groups studied.

Cohorts facilitate relationships that encourage learning and are a supportive group for individuals. The underlying philosophy of a cohort is that learners become empowered and have a sense of ownership for their own professional development. Cohorts provide students with a greater feeling of inclusiveness, promote collaboration and enhance academic performance.

Barr and Tagg (1995) note there is a shift in paradigm occurring in education that puts more emphasis on a collaborative environment. The instructor's role is shifting from instruction to learning and empowering the learner. The emphasis is on the student taking responsibility for learning and the institution/instructor shifts from lecturing and talking to student learning. Therefore, the student, instructor and institution all become responsible for learning--and no one is in complete control of all the variables. The aim is to continually improve the quality of learning for students both as individuals and as group members.

Group dynamics are an integral aspect of learning cohorts. Although Barnett and Caffarella (1992) researched and reported the powerful ways of teaching diversity issues in cohorts, the four common components they identified for the integration of the adult learner characteristics are appropriate to the dynamics of most groups. They noted that: 1) the initial development activities help form bonds between group members; 2) the reflective seminars help integrate theory and practice; 3) learners developing individual learning plans/contracts assist the learner in maintaining their personal goals; and 4) post cohort involvement usually becomes a long term contact.

Instructional Strategies

Despite the increasing attention to cohort groups as an important method in the educational process, very little has been written on the instructional strategies that would best suit a cohort group. Cohort groups benefit from different instructional techniques more than other groups for a variety of reasons. First, the cohort group, because of its ongoing nature, requires little or no need for activities which try to foster initial group cohesion. In a cohort community, the cohesion of the group is already present, having been established in earlier activities and times of involvement (a developmental process). Many of the ice breaking activities used in a regular learning situation are not required. The ice breaking that is done at the beginning of a cohort community learning event would likely be more for the benefit of the instructor, assuming this person is new to the learners. It is important for the instructor to be aware of this and to plan activities which focus on moving the group into a performing stage at the beginning of the learning event, rather than into a forming stage.

Second, cohort communities have established a number of rituals and idiosyncrasies, such as jokes, specific to that group. This can work in two ways in the instructional process. On the positive side, these rituals, idiosyncrasies and expectations, if tapped, can move the instructional process along quite quickly and smoothly. The group is aware of the expectations and are well-socialized within the group. On the negative side, the group can become so demanding for the class to be run a certain way that a loss of flexibility can occur. In other words, the power of the group can overwhelm and overpower the facilitator/instructor, and even a few students, such that the learning goals or tasks can be completely changed. This could be beneficial if the change enhances the learning of the members of the group. However, if the group does not comply with the tasks for less altruistic reasons (e.g., trying to reduce the workload of the experience for the sake of reducing the work demands rather than to improve the process), then the teaching-learning experience can be undermined.

If one agrees with the observation that "the central educational issues today hinge on social relations, not on cognitive ones: relations among persons, not relations between persons and things" (Bruffee, 1987), then the cohort community offers an exciting instructional challenge. When the relationships among the members of the learning group are well formed and these relationships are generally positive, the opportunity for collaborative learning is great. Assuming the status of a cohort community, however, tends to indicate by the very nature of the continuance of the members of the group, that the relationships are generally positive and effective. Otherwise, the membership in the cohort community would be self selecting. That is, those members of the cohort community who did not establish strong relationships with the other cohort members would likely withdraw from the community, either physically or psychologically.

In addition to the residential component for a cohort community, there must be teaching-learning strategies that focus on reflective seminars. This is a time for the participants to integrate theory and practice. The cohort communities would likely be able to greatly benefit from the reflective seminars because of their familiarity with the cohort members and their situations. Also, the more intimate nature of the relationships in a cohort community would enhance the trust, honesty, sharing and openness in a reflective seminar.

Individual learning opportunities must not be negated in a cohort community. Although there is a great deal of support, collegiality, and learning which occurs among cohort members, it is important to focus also on the goals and capabilities of individual learners. Recent research suggest that a cohort model influences some aspects of self-directed learning (Jenks, Haney, Clark, 1996; Johnson & Hill, 1996).

Research Design

Four cohort groups in the Adult and Higher Education outreach program from 1991-1996 were identified according to 3 phases depending on enrollment status in the program: early, middle, late. Three focus groups were conducted with representatives from each of these phases to identify key issues involved in cohort programming and learning. Using these data and information from a literature search, a questionnaire was developed to explore the issues for in-depth understanding. The survey was administered by mail in late 1996 and early 1997. Approximately 175 questionnaires were distributed; 51 usable ones comprise the sample.

The questionnaire had two parts that asked about influence the cohort had on student learning experiences and a rating scale of agreement with aspects of the cohort. Six open ended questions were asked to give students an opportunity to offer comments. These questions related to what they liked best, liked least, words they would use to describe the cohort experience, and how the program could be improved the beginning, middle, and end of a cohort model.

Demographic data were collected. There were 46% women and 54% men in the study. The ages ranged from the early 30s to the late 50s, with the majority being 40-49 years of age. These were adult learners with the normal commitments and responsibilities outside the classroom, so many of the responses about support, belonging, collaboration are understandable given the motivation of these learners for academic and work related learning, the needs for affiliation, and the importance of respect.

Discussion

As can be seen in the Tables, the cohort had a positive influence on most students on most of the variables typical to cohort groupings. The strongest influence was a sense of respect among learners. This is important in adult education and the types of learners these are: mostly postsecondary instructors whose professional lives do not facilitate interaction across teaching areas. All of the groups in the study are from large institutions spread out over a large geographical area, sometimes with several sites. The cohort program was one of the few opportunities these educators/trainers had to meet and interact with their colleagues. And over the course of a 2 or 3 year outreach program, many professional benefits from this interaction were reported.

The support learners gave each other was very strong, even to the point of time and assistance when one could not get homework done, go to the library, or find the energy to attend a class. A few students commented that they sometimes felt pressure to enroll in the next course so as not to let their colleagues down (a cohort program has to have a certain number of students to be offered off campus). Cohort groups seem to be committed to discovering conditions that bring out and support human learning and to providing these conditions. Simultaneously, students and faculty will also wrestle with the questions of how much time to devote to the cohort, how much they wish to yield in terms of individual needs and schedules, and how hard they wish to push connections with the material and with each other.

Table 1: The Amount of Influence the Cohort Has on Learning Experiences

Influence of the cohort for you regarding:	not much %	some %	a great deal %
• mutual respect among learners	2	26	73
• a desire to want to learn more	8	26	67
• the importance of support for learning	12	24	65
• a sense of belonging to a learning community	14	24	62
• an enriching learning experience	10	29	61
• mutual respect between instructor & learners	6	34	60
• new perspectives on my learning style & needs	12	33	55
• engagement in collaborative learning	10	41	49
• improving critical judgment	18	33	49
• my teaching practices	14	41	45
• understanding relevant resources	8	56	36
• improving my leadership skills and abilities	16	51	33
• making connections in & across courses	16	51	33
• improving my self-confidence	22	47	31
• handling stress about the courses	16	53	31
• my ability to work independently	24	47	29
• my study practices	31	45	24

• my computer literacy	45	41	14
• improving conflict-resolution skills	31	57	12

Students were asked to rate their agreement with aspects of the cohort, and as can be seen in Table 2, again these aspects were rated highly. Respect in the cohort was again the most beneficial aspect, with a sense of belonging and support important.

Table 2: Agreement With Aspects of the Cohort

	D	SD	A	SA
Aspects of the cohort:	%	%	%	%
• I feel respected by others in my cohort	-	-	72	28
• Learning with the same group is beneficial	2	4	65	29
• New members welcomed to support groups	2	4	79	15
• I respect all students in my cohort	-	8	57	35
• I felt a sense of belonging to the larger group	2	8	47	43
• I see myself as integral to learning community	-	12	65	24
• Small groups contributed to cohesiveness	4	12	52	32
• I established a small support group within the larger group	2	22	42	35
• My small support group contributed to my success in the courses	8	16	52	24
• Group work helpful in completing assignments	8	18	53	22
• Learning with same group has disadvantages	6	39	49	6
• I sometimes felt pressure to take on more academic work than I normally would	22	29	41	8
• I initiated some professional development	14	42	34	10
• There was often competition in our cohort	16	46	30	8
• There are cliques that hamper group cohesion	26	46	14	6
• I felt excluded sometimes in class activities	32	58	10	-

Cohorts provide students with a greater feeling of inclusiveness, promote collaboration, and enhance academic performance. This is especially critical when students are at a distance from the host institution, and instructors and traditional support systems and services are unavailable. For students in the University of Alberta outreach programs, the cohort model provides all the usual aspects of an academic community: culture, interaction, support, assistance, colleagues, resources, and a sense of affiliation and belonging to each other, to the university, to the department or program, and to the field of study. The classroom (and beyond) becomes an interdependent community.

Summary

Adults have much to gain when they enter into a community of learners. Cohort groups stimulate both students and teachers. In true community fashion, the collaborative learning process models what it means to question, learn, and understand in concert with others. Learning collaboratively demands responsibility, persistence, and sensitivity. But the result can be a community of learners in which everyone is welcome to join, share, grow, and learn--an exemplar model of adult education.

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Challenging the Myth of the Universal Teacher: An Examination of the Experiences of African American Women Post-Secondary Mathematics Teachers

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Abstract: This study examines the experiences of a group of African American women mathematics teachers to see what common themes emerge. The findings reveal that the race and gender of these teachers affect their teaching-learning environment.

Purpose

Webster defines a myth as "a belief that is given uncritical acceptance by the members of a group especially in support of existing or traditional practices and institutions" (1976, p. 1497). Using the criteria set forth in this definition, it was concluded that a myth of the universal teacher exists in the mainstream adult education writings on teaching adults because there is no exploration of if or how the race and gender of the teacher influences the learning environment (Apps, 1991; Barer-Stein & Draper, 1993; Brookfield, 1986; Daloz, 1986; Knowles, 1986; Knox, 1980; Lenz, 1982; Seaman & Fellenz, 1989). The myth of a universal teacher would lead one to believe that all teachers enter the teaching-learning environment on equal terms and that adult educators could teach anyone, anywhere, anything any time if they follow the guidelines set forth in books on teaching adult learners.

However, in the discussions of the plight of African American women in higher education it is evident that African American women occupy a marginal place in the academy (Gregory, 1995; James & Farmer, 1993; Moses, 1989). Therefore, African American women carry not only the baggage of double jeopardy, being a woman and an African American in our society, but also endure the negative bias that this positionality brings to the academy and into the teaching-learning environment.

This is complicated further by the field of mathematics which brings with it additional race and gender biases. Evidence documents problems associated with stereotypes surrounding race and gender in the field of mathematics. Assumptions regarding the alleged competency or incompetency of one group over another again question the accuracy of the myth for an African American woman who teaches mathematics. The research on race, gender, and mathematics shows that African American women mathematics teachers enter the classroom amidst many stereotypes relating to race, gender, and mathematics (Cross & Slater, 1994; Rakow, 1991; Secada, Fennema, & Adajian, 1995; Vetter, 1994). Consequently, African American women post-secondary mathematics teachers by virtue of teaching in a white male dominated field of mathematics occupy an even more marginal position in the academy (Rosser 1995; Sokoloff, 1992).

The reason that the myth of the universal teacher has existed is that of the accepted invisibility of African American women's teaching experiences and those of other marginalized groups. Therefore it was imperative that examinations take place of how the everyday teaching practices of African American women mathematics teachers and the rationales underlying those practices conform to the myth of the universal teacher. The purpose of this study was to understand how the classroom experiences of African American women who teach mathematics to adults perpetuate or transcend the myth of the universal teacher. The research was guided by

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the question of what common themes emerge in the classroom experiences of African American women who teach mathematics to adults?

Research Design

As an African American woman mathematics teacher, I judged that it was essential to conduct this research through a Black feminist perspective; that is to engage in "theoretical interpretations of Black women's reality by those who live it" (Collins, 1991, p. 22).

A qualitative design with interviewing and observing as its primary methodological tools was used. The purposeful sample consisted of seven African American women ages 30-45 from four southeastern states who taught mathematics at either a technical school or a community college. They were interviewed and then observed teaching mathematics to adults. Following the classroom observations, another interview took place to discuss what occurred in the participant's classroom.

Findings and Conclusions

The data reveal themes surrounding these African American adult educators' teaching philosophies, credibility, teacher-student interactions, and teaching practices. These themes were interrelated in that teaching philosophies, issues related to credibility, and teacher-student interactions, all of which were informed by their race and gender, influenced the teaching practices of these adult educators.

These African American women mathematics teachers had a teaching philosophy based on the marginality that they experienced as learners in the mathematics classroom and accordingly their goal became the promotion of equity in the mathematics classroom. Each had a different story to tell about their experiences as learners and it became apparent in their narratives about their teaching experiences that their past histories as marginalized learners - African American women- has helped them to develop teaching philosophies that seek to reach all, even those mathematics learners who are considered to be on the margin, and to incite their students to become productive learners.

Annie articulated her philosophy as follows: "a teacher's main objective should be to motivate, to stimulate, to activate." Annie felt that her teachers had not stimulated her to growth and at times she spoke of not being interested in learning but in partying. As she talked Annie had a look of regret on her face. Annie summed up her feelings by saying

> They [her teaching philosophies and practices] come from me sitting down and saying, that shit didn't work for me. What do I think will work? Let me think of something that will work. Why would I do this . . . where would I . . . So I've actually put myself in a student position.

Annie's philosophy was a result of her wanting more from her teachers and not getting it and therefore she seeks to meet her students' needs. Addie believes that a teacher should make students feel good about themselves and their ability to learn and then teach them life long learning skills. As a result of her marginalization and experiences, Georgia believes that everybody can learn and she recognizes that the degree of their learning and style of their learning may be different from hers. Therefore, she expressed her teaching philosophy this way, "it is my job to give them the time, patience, environment, teaching, and attitude that they may learn." Ethel used these words to sum up her teaching philosophy, "Everybody is capable of learning to a certain level, and we've just got to challenge them, work with them until they reach the level that we feel they can aspire to." It was evident that Ethel's philosophy would include the belief that the teacher should work with the students to help them achieve especially in light of her own aloneness in the classroom.

Consequently, the combined effect of each teacher's vast range of social experiences, interpreted differently for each of them, has resulted in the standards they uphold and the goals that they promote. Moreover, the teaching philosophies of these African American women shared some similarities. All of the women felt that they were the instruments that bridged students to lifelong learning. Their philosophies also shared the commonality of motivating students. All of their philosophies were aimed at reaching everyone and bringing them to the center of the learning environment. This was a direct influence of their cultures which was affected by their marginalization. Their marginalization was a consequence of their race and gender. The philosophies that govern these African American women post-secondary mathematics teachers classrooms are directly influenced by their past conditions, relationships, and perceptions. As a result of their marginality in previous classrooms as learners and in some cases their marginality in society, these adult educators seek to empower all and not to marginalize any of their students. Overall these African American women educators had a philosophy that is comprised of reaching those who are marginalized and bringing them to the center alongside those who are already privileged to be there.

As a result of these African American women adult educators teaching in a nontraditional field they have to deal with many issues related to credibility. Therefore, one of their defense mechanisms is a strong sense of who they are and their excellence in teaching. In spite of this self confidence they work hard to establish credibility in their mathematics classroom. All but one of these educators believed that because of their race and gender credibility that was automatically given to their White male colleagues was not afforded to them. They each have developed strategies for assessing their credibility.

Drawing on their experiences as learners these African American educators realized that it was important how teachers and students interact and how students are treated in the classroom. Their teacher-student interactions were influenced by student expectations relating to the race and gender of the teacher along with these teachers' desire to facilitate equity in the mathematics classroom. These African American women mathematics teachers have to deal with resistant, challenging learners because of who they are and what they teach. Therefore, all of their narratives depict their active stance and extended effort in developing positive teacher-student interactions. These actions include affirming minorities and valuing diverse ways of learning. However, observations of the classes of Ethel and Annie reveal that these women sometimes fall short of their goals and reinforce the patriarchal hierarchy that exists in society.

As these women spoke of what they do in their mathematics classrooms, they referred to the practices of their own teachers and their experiences as learners. In the narratives and classroom observations of these African American women it became apparent that they exhibited an experiential mode of teaching based on the ways that their teachers had taught them and interacted with them. Some of these adult educators' former teachers recognized their abilities or gave them opportunities to determine their aptitude. Other former teachers laid the burden of their own prejudice, racism, and sexism on them. If these African American women educators perceived that a strategy used or a behavior exhibited by a former teacher was effective in reaching them, then they modeled that strategy or behavior. However, if a former teacher displayed a teaching practice or behavior that was inhibitive to their learning, then these African American women mathematics teachers modified it to produce a teaching strategy that would aid students in the learning process. All of these mathematics teachers mentioned gaps in accessibility to certain information during through their own educational journey.

From the experiential base that these African American women post-secondary mathematics teachers draw upon to inform their teaching practices, they have developed practices that contain two major focuses-- accessibility and the empowerment of learners. Four elements-- experiences as learners, teaching philosophies, issues relating to credibility, and teacher-student interactions-- are informed by these African American women adult educators' race and gender. Their teaching philosophies, issues related to credibility, and their teacher-student interactions also influenced their teaching practices. So consequently their race and gender influence their teaching practices.

These African American women mathematics teachers sought to engage the entire class in the learning process and not just those which society says are mathematically elite. These adult educators made learning mathematics accessible by focusing on the learner through interactive lessons that emphasized input and feedback from the students. Student ownership of the learning process was integral in their way of promoting positive learning experiences.

Another key avenue of these African American women mathematics teachers' mission to make mathematics accessible is flexibility. Each teacher felt that flexibility was necessary to reach divergent ranges of student needs and abilities. Each teacher recognized that each student had something to bring to the learning environment and made room for differences among their student populations. These teachers typically deviated from the traditional male norm of the teacher as the omniscient center of knowledge and the learner in a passive role.

In each of the narratives and classroom observations, it was obvious that these African American women teachers felt that modeling behaviors was key to making mathematics accessible. They not only modeled behaviors that were appropriate for mathematics, but ones which were appropriate for lifelong learning across varying situations.

The climate in which the learning process took place was seen by these African American women post-secondary mathematics teachers as another important avenue of accessibility. Annie said, "I try to put as much energy and pizzazz in my class to make it come alive . . . . Most importantly what I want is for my students to be comfortable." Addie declared, "students should be in a supportive environment and that's why I try to affirm them." Ethel professed, "I want my students to be in an environment that is non-threatening." Reba remarked, "I want my students to be engaged in the classroom dynamics." Georgia proclaimed, "students should feel supported in the classroom."

Drawing from their own memories as learners, these adult educators found it necessary to empower their students not only with sufficient knowledge of mathematical skills but also emotionally. As a result of their own experiences in the mathematics classrooms, they knew that it was not enough for a teacher to stress a high level of mastery of mathematical skills. They believed that a teacher must also empower students with the mental attitude and confidence about learning. Because each of these women felt that they were the most successful when teachers not only encouraged them but prepared them for future challenges, they in turn try to empower their students. These mathematics teachers also had teachers who they felt hindered them from being successful in the classroom as well as in further endeavors and because of these negative influences these adult educators work hard to inspire their students to learn. These African American women educators want students to know that they can learn. Moreover, these teachers want their students to be stimulated to seek learning for a lifetime in addition to seeing the value of what they are learning through the course content.

These adult educators also realize that their learners are human and as such do not exist in a vacuum and in numerous instances have many dilemmas to juggle in their educational tenure.

As such these African American women work on educating the whole student and not just teaching mathematics. These educators spoke often of counseling their learners, getting learners to value themselves, building self-esteem among their learners, and the development of their students' ability to learn mathematics.

It was evident in their narratives and in the observations of their classrooms that students must perceive that learning has a purpose. The avenues through which this component manifested itself were connected learning and going beyond the mathematical content. All of these African American women adult educators supported the teaching not only of mathematical concepts for mastery of high levels of competency but also the basics of how to learn and connect mathematics to their individual lives.

Consequently, the classroom experiences of these African American women teachers is a direct result of their experiences as African Americans and women in society. Because of who they are these African American women post-secondary mathematics teachers do not have prescriptive teaching practices but draw upon their own experiences to facilitate positive learning experiences for their students while combating negative credibility issues and teacher-student interactions. Throughout their interviews and classroom observations the impact of their race and gender on the learning environment was abundantly present.

As this study accounts for the experiences of a group of African American women adult educators, the visibility of their experiences raises serious concerns about the validity of the myth of the universal teacher. This study illustrates several experiences of African American women post-secondary mathematics teachers that are not universal. Major conclusions from these findings are: (1) the race and gender of these teachers affect their teaching-learning environment and (2) the myth of the universal teacher is inaccurate because not all of the experiences of these African American women mathematics teachers are universal. There are no generic teachers in the teaching learning environment, but there are teachers whose experiences are affected positively or negatively by their race and gender.

Implications

This study contributes to gaps in theory on teaching adults and facilitating adult learning because it documents the influence that the race and gender of a teacher can have on the teaching learning environment. The findings of this study serve as a starting point to show that no prescriptive practice can transcend the impact of the race and gender of the teacher on the teaching learning environment when that teacher is not of the dominant race and gender and teaching in a field populated by those who are.

Although teaching guidelines are important areas to consider when working with adults, this study indicates that the race and gender of the teacher are also factors to be considered when planning instruction for adults. If the race and gender of these African American women affected their teaching practices separately or together it is therefore a logical extension of this position to propose that the race and gender of other educators, whether they are members of disenfranchised groups or the powerful majority group, would also affect their practices. This effect might either privilege or negatively impact their practices. Furthermore, this study challenges the field of adult education to move away from the notion of the universal teacher and to focus more on how the distinct characteristics of the individual teacher should be considered in the planning process.

Also, this study challenges practitioners to examine how their race and gender impact their teaching practices and beliefs. This study also has implications for those people who are not African American women who teach mathematics. The fact that the race and gender of the teacher does affect the learning-environment is not an experience unique to African American women adult educators or others who are a member of a nondominant race and gender. Everybody has a race and a gender. Therefore they bring a race and a gender into the classroom regardless of who they are or what they teach.

Furthermore, the experiences of the African American women adult educators in this study offer many strategies for achieving equity and attacking injustices in the mathematics classroom. Their pedagogies are rich with material for those concerned with exploring creative alternatives for more equitable learning, and their experiences are vehicles that can help us posit poignant questions about the nature of our own identities. These strategies can also direct adult educators to methods that can make their own classrooms more equitable regardless of the course content. This includes sensitizing them to the fact that more equity may be needed in their classrooms.

Finally, in my attempt to bring the experiences of a group of adult educators teaching from the margins to the forefront I have challenged the myth of the universal teacher. This provides a much needed beginning and opens the door for more critical dialogue about how the race and gender of the teacher might affect the teaching-learning environment. Hopefully, with this significant attention and practical inquiry into how the race and gender of the teacher affects the teaching-learning environment not only will many more studies of this nature be conducted but also true learning and positive change will occur with adult educators examining their own practices and adjusting them as needed to produce more equitable classrooms for those who are not privileged by our present educational system.

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A Critical Ethnography of Adult Learning In the Context of a Social Movement Group

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Abstract. This ethnography studied the learning among members of two groups in a toxic waste struggle with the EPA. The socio-political context, along with the members' class, race and gender, significantly affected the members' learning of technical and emancipatory knowledge.

Social movements play a crucial role in contemporary society because they shape values, beliefs, legislation and institutions, in progressive and conservative directions. They interest adult educators because these movements are such important actors in society and because significant learning can occur among their members.

Recently, several studies have documented that people who participate in movement groups can learn a tremendous amount (Boggs, 1986; Foley, 1991; Kastner, 1993; McKnight, 1995; Schmitt-Boshnick, 1995; Scott, 1992). Participants learn information and skills and they often change their values, beliefs, attitudes and their sense of self-identity.

Although this research has documented the types of learning that occur, very little research has focused on how dynamics such as class, race and gender and the specific context of a social movement group shape this learning among participants. The studies which have addressed this are limited in scope (Martin, 1988), or focus on organizations which are not social movement groups (Walters, 1989). Within the social movement literature, little attention has been paid to the ways that class, race and gender affect movement dynamics and tactics (Taylor, 1996; Graham and Hogan, 1990).

This critical ethnography describes learning among participants in one grass-roots struggle around toxic and radioactive waste issues. It shows how the socio-political context and the context of class, gender and race/ethnicity shape participants' learning.

Methodology

The study uses a critical framework for analysis, focusing on the relationship between learning and power and the complex ways in which power is exercised. The study incorporates insights from poststructuralists and postmodernists who emphasize struggles over identities, meaning, language and discourse. Attention to these processes expands the analysis of sites of power and offers insights into important ways learning occurs.

Data for the study was collected through participant observation of twice-weekly group meetings and most other group events for eight months, observation of neighborhood organization meetings, interviews with group members and past members, interviews with members of the neighborhood group that initiated the struggle, and content analysis of written documents. Analysis follows Carspecken (1996), moving from this data through dialogical data collection/analysis. Further analysis then relates interactions within the group and with other actors to larger social structures. The study describes participants' learning and assesses how that learning is affected by these contextual and systemic factors.

Description of findings.

The research site is in a large US city, where a Superfund site is contaminated with radioactive and toxic wastes. The EPA and the state public health department initially recommended excavating the contaminated soil and moving it to an approved storage facility. However, the corporation that owns the site protested and the EPA decided in 1992 that on-site stabilization was an acceptable remedy. Neighbors who live as close as one block from the site organized through their neighborhood association to protest the decision and participated in legal action along with the city to force removal. Their group size diminished when they were not successful. More recently another group formed in an adjacent neighborhood.

This paper addresses two aspects of context that are especially salient for group members' learning. First it addresses the socio-political context in which a government agency and a corporation have the power to make decisions regarding the site with minimal community input. Secondly, it addresses the class, race and gender make-up of the two groups that affects their choices of strategy. These two areas will be described and then the learning among group members will be described. Some of the links between context and learning will be explored in the following section.

Social movement group context. The government and the corporation exercise their power through three means: legal structures, the prevailing political/economic climate which affects the balance of business profits and environmental concerns, and the highly technical nature of toxic/radioactive waste disputes. As a result, the EPA and the corporation have much more power than the residents.

In this case, the EPA has won several court decisions which give it power to make rulings that supersede city ordinances prohibiting disposal of radioactive waste within city limits. Regulations do require the EPA to consider community input in making decisions about Superfund site remedies. However, community input is in the third of three tiers of factors. As a result, the community has little say in what remedy is selected. The EPA and the state Department of Public Health held a public hearing on the original proposal to remove the soil. Residents spoke overwhelmingly in favor of removal. When the EPA changed the remedy to on-site stabilization, they did not hold another public hearing, in spite of residents' requests for another hearing if there was any change in the proposed remedy.

The second way in which the power imbalance manifests itself is through the prevailing climate in which the government seeks to balance profits for business with environmental protection. At the federal and state levels, this governmental need to balance accumulation and legitimation has favored accumulation in recent years, with accompanying disdain for environmental activists and especially lower-class community groups (Sanjour, 1997; Masterson-Allen and Brown, 1990). In contrast, the city where the site is located has a different balance of needs. So it can align itself with residents, but its power in the case is quite limited.

At this site, this culture of support for business and disdain for residents has been manifested in several ways. These include EPA's selection of a remedy that is cheaper for the corporate owner but has higher health risks for the neighborhood, EPA's refusal to hold a second public hearing, EPA's sending lower-level officials with no decision-making power to community meetings, and the project manager's "cheek to jowl" relationship with company officials. The state department of health has refused to put signs on the site warning of the danger of radioactivity, although residents have been demanding this for more than three years. The department has also refused to conduct an epidemiological study in the area even though residents point to a 50 percent higher cancer rate in this neighborhood.

The city is in a different position because they will benefit from the local or regional businesses who are more likely to prosper if there is no radioactive and toxic dump in one of the city's neighborhoods. The dump site is currently bringing down local property values and reducing tax revenues. So this different balance means the mayor can speak out strongly on behalf of the residents and challenge the EPA in court. However, the power the city wields in this case is minimal in comparison to that of the EPA, as shown by the court cases described above.

The third way in which the community remains relatively powerless is due to the highly technical and ambiguous nature of toxic and radioactive waste debates (Masterson-Allen and Brown, 1990). The community does not have the same access to technical resources and expertise as the EPA, so they can not conduct their own epidemiological or contamination studies and they are hampered in understanding reports about the site. Even if the residents had the resources for their own studies, the EPA controls data collection at the site as well as access to results, and has refused to release information requested by the community and other federal agencies. In addition, the community is not able to prove risks from the site because "safe" exposure to low-level radioactivity is disputed even in the scientific community. This lack of agreement among scientists makes it very difficult for a community group to prove in court that the remedy is too risky, even if that is their perception.

Class, race and gender as they affect strategy. The original neighborhood group was mostly women, who were lower-class and of mixed-race and ethnicity. The newer group is almost all middle-class, white men. The different make-up of the two groups affects what strategies they perceive as viable.

The women primarily used protest tactics and worked with their city councilman, a lawyer, to support the city's legal action against the on-site plan. They staged several protests at the site, local thoroughfares and the governor's mansion and they garnered substantial media coverage. When these "in your face" approaches did not succeed, the group delved more deeply into the technical questions of the site to be able to prove the riskiness of the EPA's proposed remedy. Even today they do not perceive that they can gather any financial resources from their community to support their struggle.

In contrast, the newer group's main strategy has been to approach the CEO of the corporation that owns the site to work out a win-win solution directly with him. They have also tried to build a council of mentors made up of powerful people such as the mayor, congressional representatives, major stockholders, etc., who could advise the CEO about the wisdom of removing the soil. In order to do this, their first major activity as a group was to raise a significant sum of money. They approached the CEO twice and solicited support from the proposed council members through meetings and letters. Since the CEO has rejected their offers to meet, they are studying the technical aspects of the site and considering some of the same approaches the women used. Although they have talked about building community support, they have done little in this area and their membership has diminished to about five people.

What people learned. Residents of both neighborhoods have learned many things, some of which are beyond the scope of this paper. Here we will address two types of learning, following Habermas' (1971) distinction of three types of knowledge. Habermas found people have a *technical* interest in controlling the world around them, a *practical* interest in understanding meaning, and an *emancipatory* interest in freeing themselves from domination. This study found residents learned a tremendous amount of technical knowledge and the skills for carrying out their strategies. The second major type of learning is the emancipatory knowledge through which residents became aware of unequal relations of power and of different types of power.

Residents of the two neighborhoods have learned significant amounts of technical information, especially about radioactivity, toxic wastes, Superfund regulations, etc. However, members of each group have also learned different things as a result of pursuing different strategies. For example, the women had to learn how to organize protests and get media attention when their primary strategy was protest. Later they had to learn how to create or find forums in which they could challenge the remedy from the technical standpoint. On the other hand, the men in the newer group did not have to learn new skills in order to do the networking with the council of mentors and the CEO or to do the fund-raising because these were skills they already had from their business experience. If they begin to use other strategies they may need to learn the skills to carry these out.

In pursuing their emancipatory interest in freeing themselves from the domination of the EPA, both groups have learned about the unequal relations of power and about the different types of power that can be wielded. Before they entered the struggle, members of both groups believed that the EPA and the state Department of Public Health were carrying out their mandate to protect the environment and public health. Now they do not trust the agencies and see them as corrupt. Residents discovered that the corporation has more power with the EPA than they do because the corporation was able to convince the EPA to choose a less expensive remedy that poses greater health risks for the community. One member said, "If there isn't a conspiracy going on, at least there is collusion." He described a system "that doesn't care about the people at the bottom, not about you or you or me."

Throughout the struggle, residents have learned about different types of power and who wields them. For example, they have experienced the power of the technical experts to control discussion about health risks and the power of the corporation and the EPA to win legal battles. Although their popular power has not been successful in stopping the remedy, some of the members of the original group have become very proud of their neighborhood and find power in knowing they are doing the right thing. The government's disdain has made them more proud of themselves and their willingness to defend their rights.

Discussion

Clearly context has affected the learning by members of these two groups. This occurred as the groups discovered their relatively powerless position vis a vis the EPA and the corporation. It also occurred as the context of class, race and gender affected what strategies each group perceived as viable.

The socio-political context affects the balance of power in a struggle such as this by influencing legislation and the way states balance their needs for accumulation and legitimation. In this struggle, a judge determined that federal laws took precedence over local ordinances and gave greater power to the EPA. In the current climate, federal and state government were also able to provide greater support for corporate interests (accumulation) than for residents' interests (legitimation).

The context for this struggle also includes the highly technical nature of the issue. This gives greater power to the EPA and the state department because they control access to the technical information and they have greater resources for utilizing this information to support their position.

When residents were confronted with this situation, they learned about the power the corporation holds and how the federal and state governments support corporate interests. They became aware of their relative powerlessness and sought other forms of power through which they might achieve their goal of removing hazardous materials from their neighborhood. This has resulted in their learning significant emancipatory knowledge, even though they have not yet found a form of power they can use to stop the remedy.

In addition, the context of class, gender and race affected learning because they affected what strategies each neighborhood group perceived as viable and what the groups had to learn to carry out their strategies.

Residents of the original neighborhood worked through the EPA's public hearing channels because they perceived that the EPA had the power to make decisions. When the EPA changed the remedy on them, they relied on the city's legal strategy because they did not have the resources (nor did they perceive they could get them) to approach the corporation directly. They also used protest tactics, seeking to build their power with numbers and public outcry. When this failed, they turned to the technical realm, seeking power in technical expertise. Each change of strategy required learning new skills and information.

The newer group learned different things because they believed they could approach the corporate CEO directly and use a bridge of powerful people to support their efforts. Now that the strategy of meeting with the CEO failed and they have been unable to get support from politicians and other proposed mentors, they are looking at other strategies, such as building up their base of community support and exploring how to argue against the remedy on technical grounds.

Graham and Hogan (1990) found that this perception of access to decision-makers is grounded in the reality that poorer people had less access to politicians than upper middle-class citizens. As a result, poorer people tend to use public political tactics such as mass-mobilizations and petition campaigns which are less effective in influencing officials. Lichterman (1995) also found strategy differences between white and minority environmental groups.

In this case, the women in the original group did not have access to decision-makers at the EPA once the first public hearing was held and the remedy was changed. They did not perceive they had access to the corporate decision-makers either. So they began to use protest tactics. In contrast, the men in the newer group perceived that they had access to the corporate CEO and powerful politicians who would work on their behalf. They also perceived there was money in the community that they could raise for their effort. This perception clearly influenced their choice of strategy, and therefore what they learned in carrying out this strategy.

Implications for theory and further research

Adult learning theory has been criticized for being too individualistic. Even Mezirow's (1991) theory of perspective transformation, which describes the kind of emancipatory learning that occurred in these groups, only addresses context through the specific disorienting dilemma. In this case the dilemma of a toxic and radioactive waste dump in their neighborhood was essential for learning. But there was additional influence through the interaction of the group with the government agencies in a larger socio-political context and through the class, gender and racial make-up of the groups.

The findings of this study provide clear evidence that various aspects of context affected learning of technical and emancipatory knowledge in these groups. Although the high level of technical knowledge may be unique to toxic and radioactive waste disputes, studies of other groups (cited at beginning of paper) have shown that their members also learned technical knowledge. Being placed in a relatively powerless position led group members to learn emancipatory knowledge about various forms of power and how this power can be intertwined in systems. Residents were forced to learn about other kinds of power they could wield.

This study demonstrates the important contribution that further research can make to developing more comprehensive adult learning theory that incorporates contextual factors. For example, future research can address questions such as: how does the position of relative powerlessness lead to learning emancipatory knowledge in other groups? When does it lead to resignation rather than empowerment? How do the socio-political context and class, race and gender dynamics affect learning in other types of social movement groups? Although this group learned much about power, they still haven't put together enough power to stop the remedy. Further research can also explore what sort of knowledge contributes to the success of social movement groups and how members come to learn this useful knowledge.

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Circuit of Culture: A Critical Look at Dilbert and Workplace Learning

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Abstract: As a cultural artifact, the Dilbert comic strip has generated both amusement and consternation, particularly for corporate trainers. This paper summarizes a year of research on Dilbert and its surrounding discourse in order to extend the critique of corporate education and Human Resource Development (HRD) into the cultural realm.

Captive Wage Slave. . . Work Fodder. . . Can You Feel the Love in this Place. . . Way-too-cynical The TQM Nazis Won't Take Me Alive. . . Faceless Minion. . . . This is your Brain at Training. . . Company Property (Dilbert Zone List of the Day entries; March, 1997 - November, 1997).

Introduction

These signature lines from postings to the Dilbert web site's List of the Day (LOTD) tell a succinct story about one group of white collar workers' feelings about work. The LOTD posts a daily question about work such as what did you learn at your last HRD class? Or, what is your favorite meeting topic? People contribute responses to the list and vote for their favorites. These entries, and the Dilbert collection of comic strips and other materials, have much to say to adult educators because they are related directly to HRD and learning at work.

Nadler and Nadler (1989) define Human Resource Development as learning experiences, specifically training, education, and development, organized and provided by employers during certain periods of time in order to encourage improvement of performance and/or personal growth of employees. Education in the workplace is typically paid for, constructed, and delivered under the auspices of an employer raising questions about learning for whom, for what purpose, and for whose benefit. Moreover, beliefs of trainers about power, practice, and the nature of work require constant examination because HRD has not explored in depth its own historical and socio-economic basis, nor the endemic conflict of priorities and values between employed and employer (Schied, 1995). Therein lies a profound contradiction for HRD practice and theory, for HRD does provide management significant measures of worker control in contradiction to, or concurrent with HRD's claims to be assisting in development of a productive and empowered workforce.

Research Overview

Cultural studies research was one of many lenses available to help understand and interpret issues of workplace learning. For this study, Dilbert served as an interpretative frame of reference and resource for taking the socio-attitudinal pulse in relation to learning at work. Space limitations necessitate a sketchy discussion of a much more complex research process. In this case, Dilbert was a cultural artifact that spoke directly to HRD practice. This study incorporated narrative and semiotic readings of the comic strip, books, and materials published by and about Dilbert's creator Scott Adams. Hermeneutic and interpellative analyses were used in order to uncover dimensions of belief structures and assumptions about learning at work. Comments posted by workers to the Dilbert web site were gathered for a ten-month period and were subsequently coded and thematically categorized. Workers who contributed comments to the web site were in jobs classified as knowledge or information work and most were male.

Electronic interviews were conducted based on a purposeful sampling of web-site contributors who had written comments directly speaking to their experiences with training and development.

The study was based upon a critical approach to integrating academic knowledge into the lived context of work and workers. In the tradition of cultural studies research, several frameworks and methods were incorporated but were constantly undergirded by critical cultural studies theory (Agger, 1992). Specifically, the study was structured by the circuit of culture model (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay & Negus; 1997) and examined the major processes of representation, identity, regulation, consumption and production as means to articulate the distinct interconnections and convergences that form an artifact, object, or work of popular culture. These five linked components were used to organize the research findings and facilitate exploration of Dilbert in terms of "how it is represented, what social identities are associated with it, how it is produced and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use" (du Gay et al, 1997, p. 3).

Production

Du Gay et al (1997) consider production not only in terms of how an artifact was created technically, but also how it was encoded with specific meanings during the process. It would appear that Dilbert's producers are pro-worker and anti-management and yet many executives view Dilbert as a tacit ally (Solomon, 1997). Although providing an extensive portrayal of serious workplace issues, Dilbert is superficial, never confronting fundamental workplace problems, or societal problems of any type, even for the white-collar (and white) technical professional it supposedly represents. The deeper inscriptions of cultural meanings stemming from an artifact such as Dilbert are easy to overlook. Dilbert's world is decontextualized with no basis for articulating social and cultural issues. The lack of context nullifies opportunities to explore gaps in social justice and equality. For example, one of its messages is that business is good and it pays the rent, therefore workers must take the bad along with it. Dilbertian humor does not ask questions about why work is like it is nor explicitly point out how a business practice is stupid. Instead, it promotes and reinforces existing hierarchies and power structures by legitimizing corporate ideology and integrating workers within established discourses and orders. These are some of the strong ideological components in the production of Dilbert.

Regulation

Cultural artifacts are frequently regulated because certain groups or factions see them as inherently dangerous or damaging to their point of view. Dilbert cartoons have been banned from many workplaces because what some workers see as comic relief does not amuse their management (Dilbert, defender of the downsized, 1996). But Dilbert may also be read in support of the status quo (Kellner, 1990). Many CEOs believe Dilbert can act as a safe way to blow off disgruntled-worker steam (The anti-management guru, 1997). As a cultural text, Dilbert's regulatory messages act as a template for appropriate and desirable social relations. In doing so, the comic also provides justification for power and social inequities, presenting hierarchical structures as somehow naturally occurring and immutable. One reason Dilbert can be adapted for corporate benefit is due, in part, to late capitalism's assertion that workers are empowered and trusted by management. Knowledge work requires a transformation of obvious control to cultural control, the "culture" of work becoming like a technology within commitment (versus control) driven enterprises. Management practice is still highly regulatory, but within a context that values learning organizations, flexibility, risk-taking, and self-directed workers (Butler, 1997).

The comic strip never interrogates corporate authority, nor the controlling nature of business. Through these regulatory processes, subjectivity is produced not simply by reflecting society, but also by actively creating and producing the model working subject required by capitalism in its current near-millennium state. Dilbert, as a cultural artifact, helps to inscribe workers through culture, discourse, and signifying systems (Giroux, 1992; Solomon, 1997).

Consumption

According to study participants, workers find Dilbert hilariously funny in a painful kind of way. Zemke (1996), senior editor of *Training Magazine* and one of several HRD professionals expressing consternation about Dilbert, questioned why white collar workers were whining. Were employees ready to pass out from working in air-conditioned sweatshops? Could Dilbert truly be "a serious symbol of the downtrodden knowledge worker and are those the words of the prophet we see inscribed in the multitude of three-paneled theses that the wronged have nailed to the cubicle walls of the oppressors (p. 2)?" Other critiques suggest that it is really the corporate canon being deployed by Dilbert because the construction of subjectivity is wholly opposite the concept of voice. On the surface, the strip seems to allow individual expression, seen by management as resistance and workers as a semblance of power. But it is imaginary power, an image of power that is being manipulated. Real power belongs to those who can enforce their interpretation of what is going on in the workplace while keeping aggression and anger under control. Dilbert functions subtly to deflect genuine resistance to corporate control and can easily be seen as schizoid, representing "a cherished mascot of oppressed workers and a valued marketing tool for companies oppressing them" (Solomon, 1997, p. 10).

Representation

Popular media, Dilbert included, are teaching machines creating meaning and aiding in the construction of knowledge (Giroux, 1992; Kellner, 1990). Dilbert products sell incredibly well because workers see strong connections to their own experience. HRD departments incorporate Dilbert into training plans. Videos and Dilbert-centered classes are popping up as opportunities to explore workplace problems and reinforce corporate values. Lockheed Martin, Xerox, and Honda all use Dilbert for training in ethics awareness, empowerment, and quality programs (Whitaker, 1997). Cohen/Gebler Associates, Inc. produces a Dilbert communications program with the objective of making sure the "message gets through to your target audience" (Cohen/Gebler web site, 1997). The many educational uses of Dilbert clearly contradict *Newsweek's* assessment that Dilbert is "the worst PR for corporate America since The Exxon Valdez" (Levy, 1996). With Dilbert inscribed as an educator, could he really be threatening a white collar overthrow of corporate America, when much of corporate America views Dilbert as a way to deflect cynicism, speak to work issues, and at the same time erode "inclinations to fight for better working conditions" (Solomon, 1997, p. 30)?

Identity

Dilbert avoids tough identity issues that involve solidarity, humanity, dignity and justice. In relation to worker identity, Dilbert is an effective double-agent. Though the comic strip and other materials are classified as humor, and knowledge workers have adopted Dilbert as their champion, the fundamental messages in Dilbert are frightening. Dilbert characters consistently malign and denigrate their peers, effectively undermining a sense of strength and solidarity among workers. Dilbert materials are a huge indictment of workers who are portrayed as unwitting slackers. Adams refers to workers as mindless, irrational, easily-manipulated dolts. Humorous or not, this is a dangerous and debilitating message for workers who deal daily with management and training techniques designed subtly and overtly to help them internalize corporate values. Gee, Hull and Lankshear (1996) pointed out their growing concern with socio-technical practices designed to "facilitate productivity and commitment, sometimes in highly 'indoctrinating' ways" (p. 6). Contemporary work practices demand reconceptualization because workers are asked to invest more than their bodies. Fast-capitalism requires workers' hearts and minds, amounting "to a form of mind control and high-tech, but indirect coercion" (p. 7). However, this re-forming of identities may conflict with identities already established. As one LOTD contributor admitted: "Every day, in every way, I am internalizing corporate values."

Implications for Adult Education

The complexities of analyzing a cultural artifact are obvious. This study of Dilbert found that the comic strip was often viewed by its readers as disconcertingly similar to their own day-to-day work lives. Fear of job loss and existing power relationships created a culture of adjustment in which workers felt the necessity to continually act in appropriate and sanctioned manners so as not to disrupt the status quo. The study showed underlying misogyny, racial bigotry, classism, and elitism in both the strip and in data from web site commentaries. Dilbert materials and Dilbert readers had little understanding of, or concern for, inclusivity for marginalized and silenced voices. Not surprisingly, labor unions and the employees they represent have not jumped on the Dilbert band wagon. Workers' desire for inner comfort and predictability fit in with the rational side of fast-capitalism's corporate thinking. The role of HRD in this scenario was to teach solely to the needs of business, buttressing bureaucratic strangulation and reinforcing employment practices where workers not only have to have specific job knowledge and skills, but also have to present themselves as certain kinds of people. All of these things combined with continued economic decline for workers creates a betrayal of a wider vision of democracy and a democratic workplace.

Dilbert has much to say about education simply by virtue of the many instances words and concepts related to learning are found in Dilbert materials (Ohliger, 1996). A critical reading of Dilbert uncovers profoundly complex issues about the goals and consequences of workplace learning. Cultural artifacts provide social rules and explain behavior. In this sense, cultural artifacts are didactic. Big business training videos aside, Dilbert can be a powerful pedagogical tool. In spite of the lack of social awareness in Dilbert, it is possible to critically engage workplace issues, disrupting the deep structures and nuanced meanings found in the comic strip. This is where critical workplace learning comes into play. There are good things that come out of HRD; most training and development professionals do not have agendas intended to oppress or suppress the voices of workers. However, when workers such as the subjects in this study acknowledge they are internalizing corporate values that conflict with their own personal values, HRD becomes part of a problem that extends beyond work. Training supports institutional expectations that end up with workers who feign interest, communicate insincerely, and cope with dehumanizing management fads. These practices are conflated with record profits while re-engineering and downsizing run rampant. The combination perpetuates a pedagogy allied with reproducing a capitalist ideology and maintaining the status quo so that business and industry continues to maximize shareholder value (Butler, 1997; Gee et al, 1996). The goals of fast-capitalism are why popular media texts such as Dilbert demand serious reading and scrutiny because they become part of the workplace culture, a source of contestation and identity formation as well as laughter and fun. As HRD courses are taught, as Dilbert-based curricula take over some facets of workplace education, as critical educators continue to ask who benefits from training, education, and development at work, then the meanings produced by cultural texts such as Dilbert can help uncover which values and roles are legitimated and how work is defined.

Dilbert is being used to help create and sustain certain points of view. HRD has used Dilbert training materials even though its characters are apparent management dissidents. Although organizations may be transforming and/or restricting, liberatory and/or dominating, informed analyses are important for democratic educational practice. HRD, by failing to acknowledge and/or understand its complicity in deploying corporate rhetoric, and by leaving power under-theorized, cannot réally uncover and integrate satisfactorily into its practice a contradictory situatedness between human agency and organizational dominance (Fiske, 1993). It is sobering to think of the comic - a "rocket fueled by worker bile" - as the model for white collar workers, Dilbert the hero who helps them maintain their sanity (McNichol, 1995, p. 4), and Scott Adams as our nations "unofficial secretary of human resources" (Brown, 1997, p. 12).

Summary

Fundamentally, Dilbert's message never probes the underlying motivations or assumptions behind corporate America's approach to workplace learning and workplace management. But important epistemological questions come from decoding the values associated with Dilbert. Kellner (1996) sums up the importance of this kind of research for critical adult educators when he discussed co-optation of even radical and subversive impulses which may also "serve as effective ways of absorbing individuals into the established society" (p. 10). A critical pedagogy that develops media literacy and politicizes culture allows educators and workers to pull apart messages encoded in the production process and examine their complexities, as business continues to operate beyond most people's power to effect it and control more and more of what workers think and do. Kellner asserted the importance of being "able to perceive the various ideological voices and codes in the artifacts of our common culture" (p. 11). This is where critical adult educators in workplace settings and workers themselves who hope for democratic spaces must become cultural critics and researchers.

A critical interrogation by workers and educators of the relationship among work, life, and learning would help to reframe training issues. Rather than a pedagogy of assimilation, a critical interpretation of this relationship invites possibilities for liberatory learning. Heaney (1995) expressed concern about training that aimed for control and benefited the corporation because it disenfranchised workers on the periphery. He described adult education at work as needing to be transformative and critically reflective, problematizing work experience and context in relation to a variety of other communities of practice. Workplace adult education focused on enhancing participation and voices of workers was one step toward this kind of learning, expanding "workers' otherwise narrow sphere of influence and concern" was the next (p. 150).

Cunningham (1993) described HRD as education that is framed by profit making concerns and education that does not question how work connects to the interests of society. In a system of unequal power, schools, including workplace learning, guarantee the reproduction of asymmetric power relationships and social injustice. The challenge for professional trainers will be to confront these issues instead of continuing to reproduce socially constructed inequities and celebrating the culture of the corporation. The goal will be to see knowledge production in a democratized form, engaging issues of power and exposing whose knowledge is really valued.

The hope for democracy is the value of bringing a critical pedagogy to the workplace. A critical reading of Dilbert supports the hope that power inequities can be exposed, confronted and that possibilities still exist for corporations to accept responsibility for socially unacceptable actions.

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Role Conflict, Role Ambiguity and Job Satisfaction of County Extension Agents in the Georgia Cooperative Extension Service

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Abstract: Organizational, job related and personal correlates of role conflict, role ambiguity and job satisfaction were examined for County Extension Agents in Georgia. The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for in-service training program.

Introduction

Today's workers are faced with continual change. Budget cuts and downsizing, frequent organizational change and new tecnological developments that require new skills are common occurrences. In addition, networking across traditional boundaries is increasingly necessary to to develop innovative solutions for today's complex problems.

Previous research has shown that roles in changing organizations can be ambiguous because role expectations change frequently (Kahn et al., 1964). During periods of change, organizational members may experience a lack of understanding of their new roles (role ambguity) as well as role conflict while roles and responsibilities are renegociated. Difficulties in attempting to satisfy conflicting or incompatible job demands (role conflict) and unclear expectations (role ambiguity) are two causes of occupational stress (Rizzo et al., 1970) and have been shown to be associated with decreased job satisfaction (Fisher & Gitelson, 1983; Jackson & Schuler, 1985; Lamble, 1980; Igbaria & Guimaraes, 1993).

The Georgia Cooperative Extension Service is a non-formal, community-based educational program that addresses a broad range of individual needs and community issues through educational programming at the county level. Rapid population growth, population shifts from rural to urban and suburban areas, economic depression in rural areas and new social problems challenge County Extension Agents (CEA's) to work across subject matter and organizational boundaries to develop innovative programs to address continually evolving needs. Another effect of population growth is that the Cooperative Extension Service (CES) must serve larger populations in growth counties, usually with no increase in staff, while greater population diversity results in a wider variety of expectations among clientele.

Other changes in the Georgia CES included top level administration and the adoption of new program initiatives that challenged CEA's to work outside their traditional disciplines. Budget shortfalls also required that some positions be left unfilled for long periods of time making it necessary for remaining county staff to assume additional responsibilities.

At the time of the study, each county had least one CEA and most had at least two. CEA's are responsible for supervising the work of the secretaries, large numbers of volunteers and sometimes para-professionals. Although Extension Agents operate somewhat autonomously, they are accountable to the County and District Extension Directors. They must also maintain relationships with and satisfy expectations of others outside the formal chain of command.

The role requirements of the CEA coincide closely with those that Kahn et al. (1964) identified as likely to cause role conflict, role ambiguity and role stress. They are (a) roles in changing organizations, (b) roles for which there are considerable differences in expectations among various members of the role set, (c) roles that require innovative solutions to non-routine problems, (d) roles that require coordination across departmental or organizational boundaries, (e) roles with responsibility to more than one supervisor and (f) roles that require the supervision of others. White (1986) found that role overload was related to budgetary shortfalls and the need to accomplish more with less money and fewer staff. When vacant positions are finally filled, a period of ambiguity and conflict may follow as role expectations are learned and negotiated.

Need for the study. Understanding of the causes of role stress is still limited, although the relationship of role conflict and role ambiguity to low job satisfaction is relatively well documented (Khan et al., 1964; Lamble; 1980; Rizzo et al., 1970). Furthermore, the personal and job related characteristics that Kahn et al. (1964) identified as predictors of role conflict and role ambiguity have been largely ignored (Newton and Keenan,1987). In addition, most previous studies were conducted in industrial settings. Only two studies that examined a CES setting were located (Lamble, 1980; Lovell, 1980). Since CEA's work with a considerable autonomy, the question was whether the same relationships exist between role conflict, role ambiguity and job satisfaction for CEA's as for industrial employees and which factors affect these relationships.

Research Questions. In this study, the relationship of role conflict and role ambiguity to job satisfaction was investigated for professional employees in an informal adult education setting, the Georgia CES. The following research questions were posed.

1. What personal and job related characteristics are related to role conflict, role ambiguity and job satisfaction for Georgia Extension Agents?
2. Are role conflict and role ambiguity related to job satisfaction for Georgia Extension Agents?
3. How can staff development be utilized to help Extension Agents effectively deal with role conflict and role ambiguity and related issues?

Methodology

The population for this study included all 461 CEA's employed by the Georgia CES at the time of the survey. Since job characteristics are thought to influence role conflict and role ambiguity (Kahn, et al., 1964), location of work was selected as one of the independent variables and counties were classified as urban, suburban, rural growth or rural decline using a system developed by Bachtel, Mandell and Lee (1988). Sampling with replacement was used and data was collected from 50 CEA's in each location category for a total of 200 subjects.

Data Collection. A mailed questionnaire was utilized for data collection. Subjects were asked to return a separate postcard to the researcher at the same time as the questionnaire to maintain anonomity while allowing for follow-up on non-respondents. The response rate was 86.6%. Since the means for gender and position were virtually identical for the population and sample, the sample was representative of the population.

Instrument. The questionnaire was developed to gather data on: (1) role conflict and role ambiguity, (2) job satisfaction, (3) programming and (4) in-service training received. Additional items were designed to obtain data on personal and job related characteristics.

Role conflict and role ambiguity were measured by a 7-point Likert-type scale using a slightly modified version of the scales developed by Rizzo et al. (1970). These scales were selected because they have been widely used in research on role conflict and role ambiguity (Fisher & Gitelson, 1983; Jackson & Schuler, 1985; Lamble, 1980 and Lovell, 1980). The reliability of the role conflict/role ambiguity scales was established by Schuler, et al., (1977) although, it has also been questioned (Tracy and Johnson, 1980; Shepherd and Fine, 1994).

A slightly modified version of the revised Job Descriptive Index (Bowling Green State University, 1985) was used to measure job satisfaction. Data were also collected on twenty-three independent variables that are representative of personal and job characteristics that were previously found to be related to role conflict and role ambiguity (Kahn et al., 1964).

Data Analysis. Role conflict, including role overload which can be considered as a special type of role conflict (Kahn, 1964), and role ambiguity were treated as independent variables with job satisfaction and as dependent variables with various personal, interpersonal, organizational and program characteristics. House and Rizzo (1972) had previously treated role conflict and role ambiguity as both a dependent and an independent variable. The various dimensions of job satisfaction were treated as dependent variables.

Even though the role conflict and role ambiguity scales had been widely used, Rizzo (personal communication, August, 1988) recommended that factor analysis be used to develop sub-scales specific to the group. Using varimax rotation factor analysis, factor patterns containing as few as three items were retained if they met the established 0.4 theta reliability criterion. The reliability of the scales that emerged was tested using theta reliability, a special case of Cronbach's alpha (Armor, 1974). Factor analysis, multiple regression and the chi-square test of independence were utilized to test the hypotheses.

Findings and Discussion

There are both similarities and differences in the factor patterns for the role conflict/role ambiguity items that emerged in this study as compared with the patterns reported by Rizzo et al. (1970) and Lamble (1980). A major difference is that three significant patterns emerged rather than two and each pattern contained fewer items.

The pattern labeled "role ambiguity" contained six items, all of which were also retained in they factor patterns reported by Rizzo et al. (1970) or Lamble (1980) or both. The pattern labeled "role conflict" contained seven items, two of which were unique to this study and were not reported by either Rizzo et al. (1970) or Lamble (1980). The factor pattern labeled "role overload" was unique to this study. The three items in this pattern loaded on both role conflict and role ambiguity or neither in the comparative studies.

An indication of the level of role stress for CEA's in Georgia was provided by the mean scores for role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload. On a seven-point scale from never (1) to always (7), except for positively worded items where the coding was reversed, the mean score for the role conflict items was 3.68. Similar, although not identical items, administered to managers and engineers using a seven-point scale with seven as high (Rizzo et al., 1970), yielded mean scores of 4.19 and 3.86 respectively. CEA's mean score for the role ambiguity items was 3.19, while the means for managers and engineers (Rizzo et al., 1970) were 3.79 and 4.03 respectively. Therefore, role conflict and role ambiguity appears to be slightly lower for CEA's than for the managers and engineers studied by Rizzo et al. (1970).

The distributions of the subject's total scores for the role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload scales provide additional insight into the occurrence of role stress in the Georgia CES. Although the mean item scores do not appear to be unusually high for the total sample, the distributions of the total scores indicate that role conflict, ambiguity and overload are high for a number of individuals within the sample. Furthermore, role conflict appears to be widespread.

Job Satisfaction. The Job Descriptive Index (Bowling Green State University, 1985) was scored prior to the factor analysis to obtain an indication of the job satisfaction of the study population relative to the norms which have been established for the instrument. A comparison with the norms shows that CEA's satisfaction with work, supervision and co-workers appears to be about average. Female CEA's, however, are slightly less satisfied with co-workers than either male CEA's or females in the normative studies. Both male and female CEA's are much less satisfied with pay and promotions than would be expected. Furthermore, male CEA's are be about average. Female CEA's, however, are slightly less satisfied with co-workers than either male CEA's or females in the normative studies. Both male and female CEA's are much less satisfied with pay and promotions than would be expected. Furthermore, male CEA's are considerably less satisfied with pay than female agents. Female CEA's however, are considerably less satisfied with promotions than male agents.

Role conflict emerged as a significant predictor in six of the eight job satisfaction models while role ambiguity emerged as a significant predictor in two models. Gender, years of Extension experience, recent changes in program responsibilities, number of professionals interacted with on a regular basis, number of support staff worked with on a regular basis, responsibility for supervision and training received on youth issues also emerged as significant predictors of job satisfaction. Male and younger CEA's were generally more satisfied than were female and older CEA's. Less experieenced CEA's were more satisfied with interaction among co-workers, supervisor's ability and promotions than were more experienced counterparts.

Personal and Job Characteristic. Several independent variables emerged as statistically significant predictors of role stress (role conflict and role ambiguity) and job satisfaction. These included changes in county work location, educational level, number of support staff worked with on a regular basis, responsibility for supervision and training received on youth issues. Recent changes in work location, the number of support staff and responsibility for supervision are consistent with the characteristics Kahn, et al. (1964) identified as likely to cause role stress.

CEA's who supervised other employees scored higher on the role overload scale than CEA's who did not supervise others. Except for responsibility for supervision, which Newton and Keenan (1987) also identified as a strong contributor to role overload for engineers, there has been little research on role overload. In this study, scores on role overload increased as the number of support staff decreased. This does not support the theory that role stress is related to the number of people supervised. For CEA's, having a larger support staff who share the work load may offset the role stress of having more people to supervise.

The finding that CEA's with master's degrees scored higher on the role ambiguity scale than employees with bachelor's degrees would seem to contradict the beneficial effects of education. It should be noted, however, that there was no attempt to correlate role conflict, role ambiguity or job satisfaction with job performance. It is possible that during the course of their studies CEA's develop a greater awareness of issues and program development models which results in ambiguity as they attempt to balance the expectations of traditional clientele with their new ideas.

Glisson and Durick (1988) also found that educational level and role ambiguity were positively related for human service organization workers. Human service workers, like Extension Agents, face many demands with few resources and tend to work in relatively small groups. A meta-analysis by Fisher and Gitelson (1983) also revealed a consistent and positive relationship between education and role ambiguity, although the relationship was weak. However in Newton and Keenan's (1987) study of engineers in the UK, education and role ambiguity were not related.

Recommendations and Implications

Since role conflict and role ambiguity were identified as useful predictors of job satisfaction for CEA's, there is a need to test more rigorously the relationships uncovered in this study. The impact of future organizational change and the impacts of in-service training programs developed to address the issues identified in this study should be monitored by multiple tests over time.

The higher levels of role conflict and lower levels of job satisfaction among women raises questions as to whether further research might reveal different predictors of role stress and job satisfaction for women than for the total sample. In further developing the models, more specific role and organizational characteristics that are associated with CES should be considered.

CEA's have a great deal of autonomy but the freedom to make one's own choices has advantages as well as disadvantages. People in autonomous roles often experience more role stress because of the opportunities and demands. Since role conflict and role ambiguity were important predictors of job satisfaction, it is important to help CEA's manage and use them constructively as role conflict and ambiguity can be either constructive or destructive (McGrath, 1976). Ambiguity provides autonomy as well as a mechanism for providing flexibility to adapt to rapidly changing situations (Weick, 1977) while conflict can provide the stimulus for innovative approaches (Thomas, 1976).

In this era of declining resources and downsizing, CES must recognize the need to engage in system wide priority setting and strategic planning. Just as businesses increasingly depend on employee expertise to shape the business strategy (Torraco & Swanson, 1995), CEA's should be trained to facilitate a planning process that involes all segments of the clientele base in establishing strategic directions. In depth training on issues identification, priority setting, planning and group process techniques should be system wide.

The finding that CEA's who had received less training on youth issues scored higher on the role ambiguity scale than CEA's who had received more training on this topic provides important support for staff development programs prior to the implementation of all new programs.

The higher levels of role ambiguity among CES's with masters degrees raises questions regarding what differences exist between those with MS degrees who experience higher levels and lower levels of ambiguity.

The relationship of role conflict and role ambiguity to satisfaction with co-workers and supervisors also indicates a need for training in interpersonal communications and conflict management. Ideally, this training should include the entire county team and district team in the same session, including support staff.

The decrease in job satisfaction with increasing tenure and low satisfaction of females on certain dimensions of job satisfaction is a particular concern. Since opportunities for promotions are limited, and females may not have the mobility to take advantage of the few that become available, other incentive programs might be utilized. One possibility is an officially recognized mentoring program for new employees which provides practical training to new employees while recognizing the competencies of experienced exployees who are selected as mentors.

This study also revealed that a large number of CEA's had responsibility for supervising other employees or volunteers. Because supervision was a significant predictor of role stress, all CEA's who supervise others should participate in supervisory training sessions instead of just County Extension Directors.

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Adult Education and the Body: Changing Performances of Teaching and Learning

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Abstract. I discuss recent scholarship on the body and present two theoretical frameworks that attempt to explain how the body might be constituted in educational institutions, discourses and practices, and suggest these analytical tools and the literature on the body can be linked to adult education practice.

There is currently great academic interest in the body--what relevance does such work have for adult educators? My own interest in the body and its place in education, emerged from my Master's thesis, *"All this Talk!": Stories of Women Learning*. I asked women program planners how their lived experiences as women learning affected their practice. In individual and group sessions, they told me stories about their university adult education. Their metaphors for learning were *talking, opposition* (from what they all called the "old, male model"), and *confronting power* - that is, acknowledging the power-knowledge structures that disciplined and regulated their learning. In many of their stories, the "body" formed an intriguing subtext; for example, all the women mentioned that their best educational experiences were those where teachers and/or learners were "embodied". This seemed to mean those (rare) times in their education where they felt that the connections between cognition and emotion, affect and intellect, were recognized, where "bodily" knowledge was honoured as epistemically valuable, where both body and mind were welcome in the learning space.

> It's about being embodied. In this environment that makes a difference. The professors that I work best with, that's the way I describe them, and I found the learning most transformative when they had that quality of being embodied. When you talk about an embodied learner, then you're talking about the integration of all things, an inter-relationship. Sonia, *All This Talk*.

> I really live in my body, you know? Like I'm big, and my arms move and I move and so, for me, when I think of talking it's all of me that talks. Some people it's just their head, but I think my body is very much my grammar, it's how I punctuate things, and it's how I teach. Yolanda, *ATT*.

Most often, the stories were about learning how to become dis-embodied, dis-connected, about "creating distance", about becoming unemotional. Yolanda, laughing, said "In education we try to get emotionless. Bury! Repress! Make Freud happy!" Even as I concluded, that, yes, the women did carry their experiences of gender and learning with them into their daily practice, I kept returning to those stories about the body. Perhaps because there was so much passion, energy, even poetry in them?

Why the Body?

A preliminary review of literature led me to one immediate conclusion: Suddenly, it's chic to have a body again. "After Enlightenment, embodiment!", is the rallying cry from anthropologists, geographers, historians, sociologists, literary critics--even educational theorists. Scholars now see the body as a collection of physical facts, transporting social and psychological values, as an instrumentality, and as a category of cultural production. Recent studies indicate that the body is not only a biological phenomenon but a social construction (Turner, 1984); a site of state control (Foucault, 1990); the origin of transgressive capacities (Bakhtin, 1986); carries symbolic value (Bourdieu, 1991); is a text (Derrida, 1978); and in education it is a terrain of struggle, conflict and contradiction (McClaren, 1987). And at even the most sedate institutions of higher education, there are courses on the body, centres for the study of the body, degrees on the body.

Why this overwhelming interest? Shilling (1993) cites as one reason the feminist project to reclaim the political body; he also suggests that demographic changes and the consumer culture of high capitalism have resulted in the body becoming a site where the uncertainties of longer life in a post-modern world are displayed. To these I would add one of the paradoxes of globalization--while deterritorialization has resulted in the growth of consciousness of the globe as one place, one village, it has also heightened awareness of the political importance of the local, the specific and the particular. What is more local, more specific, more situated, than the body? In this age of Diaspora, the body has become the Home many yearn for. Also, feminists have rehabilitated what Foucault called subject knowledges, those derived from emotion and the body; one of the greatest impacts feminism has had on the disciplines has been the establishing of the viability of the situated subject, and the insistence that actually all knowledge is located and thus specific, that it is grounded. Specifically, and locally, what does this mean for educators in classrooms?

The Embodied Way

I think there are two directions that adult educators can take. In one, what I'll call the Embodied Way, we see the body being "brought back into" educational theorizing and practice (hooks, 1994). As Madeleine Grumet says, the body has been absent in curriculum and in schools. "Silent too, was the language of the body, the world we know through our fingertips, the world we carry on our weight-bearing joints, the world we hear in sudden hums and giggles" (1988, p. xv). Educators are urged to take a more holistic approach to curriculum design, to teaching, to learning, and to research--we read, and hear, about the embodied mind, affective and somatic knowledges, and how best to incorporate the "whole person" into pedagogical and andragogical practices. This is welcome and offers us much more authentic and holistic opportunities for teaching and learning in non-unitary ways (Clark, 1997). But I don't think we need to "bring the body back", because the body is already there in the classroom. It is true, the body is an absent presence, the Orientalised Other of the mind, representing the antithesis of reason and objectivity. Devalued in Enlightenment ideology, the body lingers, languishes in our educational geography.

Body Projects

So, I am concerned to not just allow room for the senses, the spirit, the physical, in planning curriculum, or instructional techniques, or learning, but that we should also explore a second path, what I call the way of the Body Project. For the new scholarship claims that the body is a project. Bodies are unfinished, malleable, plastic, multiple. There are social bodies, bodies at work, consuming bodies, political bodies, educated bodies, gendered bodies, sexed bodies, medical bodies, disabled bodies, identifying bodies... If you have ever lifted weights, run a marathon, had a face-lift, had your hair cut, coloured, straightened or permed, had your ears, nipples, or nose pierced, if you have dieted, tried to get a tan, had sun spots and age spots lasered away, bought a face cream guaranteed to remove wrinkles, or used Grecian Formula, you've been involved in your own Body Project.

As adult educators, perhaps we should be asking what part education has played in making the bodies that come in the door with our adult students, and what part we can play in remaking them, because:

> It is not bodies alone, but more crucially, individuals and their identities, that are constituted through the social shaping of bodies. There come to be individuals (subjects) with particular identities, genders, characters, joys, understandings and the like--largely through bodily transformations that result from the immersion of bodies in the field of social relations and power. (Schatzki, 1996, p xx).

We need to not just recognize that the body has a place in the classroom, but that classrooms, teachers, fellow learners, institutions (structural and social) have a place in the body--for they construct that body as gendered, raced, diseased, disabled, sexually oriented, encoding categories of social inequity, perpetuating what Tisdell (1993) has called interlocking systems of oppression. Unfortunately, much of the literature on Body Projects is dense, inaccessible and largely theoretical, and there is a dearth of empirical studies; I offer below brief outlines of two theoretical frameworks. The first, Theodore Schatzki's, draws together work from sociologists of the body. The second, Judith Butler's, stems from postmodern and poststructural feminism.

The Sociological Body

Schatzki's (1996) model of corporeality, (the embodiment of socioculturation), is composed of four dimensions. These are: Firstly, *physicality*, the actual physical ensemble that supports and makes possible the other dimensions; secondly, ***bodily*** *activity*, which "bodies forth" the mental conditions of mind, gender, character, of "individuality into the public world" (p.5); thirdly, the *lived body,* the body as experienced by the person, "the home of the distinction between self and body, the theme of embodiment, with its Cartesian overtones and resulting dangers" (p.5); and fourthly, there is the *surface* of the body, "the slate upon which is inscribed the marks of culture, human coexistence, and social toil...the flesh that is symbolically and meaningfully punctured, incised, decorated, clothed, done up, disguised, stylized" (p.5). The body is *socially molded* through *techniques,* which conflate discourses and practices with political and social institutions such as the school and the family. Practices are diverse; they can include family eating patterns, daily transportation practices, personal grooming, banking practices and social negotiation.

Social molding often works on several dimensions; for example, social activities affect physicality, resulting in clogged arteries, or cirrhosis of the liver, but the diagnosis or interpretation of these bodily activities, and the social aspect of the lived experiences of drinking or eating, are imprinted through family, media, conversations with friends, engagements with institutions. Power, embedded in these techniques, is thus articulated on the body (Foucault, 1990) through *discipline* (as in training, teaching, sanctioning, punishing), through *normalization* (conscious or unconscious self-attending and molding), through the *establishment* of signifying activities (hand gestures, crying, sadness, good or bad posture) and through **surface** expressions. Specific signifying conditions, such as gender, character, mental capacities, are thus produced--for "the body is a style of the flesh" (Butler, 1990). Schatzki's theoretical framework offers a useful starting place for de-constructing the part educational discourses and institutions play in constituting bodies, and, through them, identities. It is not, however, a theory that leaves much room for agency or for resistance.

The Feminist Body

Feminists have long been engaged with the body as part of their political project. Whether radical, liberal, cultural or post modern, most agree that the body is frequently the arena where gendered inequities, among other constructions, are played out, but feminists remain divided over how to bring the body into their agenda, alternating between celebrations of the female body and fears of biologism, naturalism and essentialism. But most believe that "Body stands along with Woman, Native, Other as a neglected subject of inquiry", and that study of the Body easily becomes the means of articulating marginalization through the question, "What body is being constructed here?" (Foster, 1995). Grosz argues that "feminist conceptions of the body are unlike those of their male counterparts (Nietzsche, Freud, Lacan and Foucault) insofar as the bodies are always sexually specific and may well entail different regimes of power and their associated knowledges" (1993, p. 196). She distinguishes between theories that are "inscriptive", that focus on the body's surface as the site where social, legal, moral and economic norms are inscripted, and approaches which focus on the interior, or lived body.

Judith Butler's work takes up inscription, rejecting any "natural" determining characteristics. She claims no prediscursive, ontological status for the body, but says that gender and sex are parodic performances of that interior absence, expressed on the surface of the body. "The various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts there would be no gender at all" (1990, p.140). Acting gender, or "performativity", is a fabrication for public regulation, displayed in response to the "truth effects of primary and stable identity", all deployed in the service of a compulsory heterosexuality and/or whiteness, ethnicity, class (1993, p.136). In a construction that conceals its genesis from self and society, the body performs its regulating, assigned, roles. "Gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts" (1990, p. 140). But the body doesn't always get it right. Performance slips. Here is the opening for agency, for resistance, for although "agency is always negotiated within a matrix of power" (1990, p.140), I believe that if constructions of the body are performative, we might be able to elicit voluntary performances - from learners and from ourselves as teachers - that challenge inequitable identity constructions. Butler rejects such a voluntary construction, claiming that "gender is performative, an effect of a regulatory regime where genders are divided and hierarchized under constraint...a compulsory and forcible production". But, "in self repetition, gaps open up in regulatory norms." (1993, p. 21-22).

Butler's work has been criticized as being too idealistic, too theoretical, but it resonates with me, and with the experiences of the women in my study. For example, all spoke of the difficulties they experienced with evaluation and assessment of their work. They hated being marked, for marking is a technique of power that embeds the discourses and practices of being a "good learner", in a process of normalization and self-regulation. In the public spaces of the classroom, and the private spaces where all "turn to the last page to see if I'm ok", the women learned how to discipline their own writing, their research, their presentations of themselves, their work and their practice--and it wasn't a disciplining that led to an embodied education.

> Probably that's where my writing falls down, because I can't let that emotion come through anymore. Lana, *ATT*.
> The milieu is to be cognitive and to stay in the head, most of the courses were very head courses...but most people aren't living in their heads, they're living with their guts. Lee, *ATT*.

> Well, it's not just the D, the mark. I wrote a poem after, I was so devastated. Something like, Herr Doktor, or Herr Professor, your grades are mutilating marks on my face! And that's the thing, they're marks, like, they are marking me, like the Star of David, I mean that's a positive thing, but in the Second World War it wasn't. Like, to stigmatize, a stigmata. Sonia, *ATT*.

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> The body has six states of consciousness. Deep sleep, light sleep, drowsy, alert, agitated and flooded. When the body senses fear and moves into an *agitated* state, hormones flood the blood stream, giving energy, digestion stops and the body begins to use its own tissue. The/my body uses and consumes its/my tissue. The/my blood literally stops, reverses its direction in the/my veins, moving to hands and feet, breathing becomes shallow and the heart pounds. If terror is felt, the/my body moves to a *flooded* state, feelings narrow and intensify. Anger becomes rage, sadness becomes despair. It is impossible to process thoughts calmly and thoroughly. My/the body is ready for survival. When I/we sit in classrooms and feel fear, when I/we are terrorized by bullies, or when my/our hearts pound as we wait for the marks to come back--we are eating our bodies, cannibalizing our flesh. What are we learning? What are our bodies learning? Valerie.

Changing Performances of Learning and Teaching

I want to suggest that we explore both ways of working with the body in our practice, theorizing and research. The first step is becoming bodily conscious. Heshusius and Ballard (1996) suggest that an embodied form of personal experience is an integral part of the process of doing educational work and research, but that objective social science has little time for what is personal, regarding it as subjective, particular and unreliable. In the process of achieving replicability, all personal marks (bodies) are removed from the methods, frameworks, theories that constitute such research, and individuality is lost. But postmodern denseness can just as easily remove individuality. I have tried, in this short space, to move from the abstract, non-specific, third-person textual representations of sociologists and postmodern feminists, to "*my* body", or my participants bodies, taking "a plunge into lived experience and particularity" (Rich, 1986).

Where are the bodies in the classroom? Many of us adult educators encourage our learners to "start with themselves", we say "the personal is the political!", but stop short of including ourselves in that exposure. Look at who has control of the space in the classroom--the teacher, presenter, educator, professor. Watch how they use that space, the possibility they have to come out from behind the desk, to move among the learners, to use their body... to be a body of knowledge. Or, do they never move into the learner's space, the space of those who sit imprisoned in chairs? Imprisoned in minds and discourses, where it is impolite to notice rumpled clothing, cowlicks, bellies, breasts. Do we even imagine sexuality while we talk so eruditely of gender, never noticing that genitals and gender might be connected? Does an immobile body denote an active mind? Could an active body erupt, disrupt, refuting the immutable truths, virgin concepts, immaculate theory an imprisoned master represents? Or do we have to apply:

> **The Cartesian litmus test**
> Is this knowing untouched by human hand?
> Is it contaminated by relation, or constructed cleanly, in isolation?
> Were any bodily fluids exchanged in the production of this theory, this learning?
> Any at all, tears, blood, sweat, snot, semen?
> Any discharges at all?

When we have begun to notice the bodies in our classrooms, when we are aware of techniques of power, of normalization and regulation, then we can begin to see how we as adult educators continue to construct, often unwittingly, political and social identities. We can begin to see what

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is written on learner's bodies, perhaps find room there to write a different story. As an adult educator I (have to?) believe we can inscribe new stories. But we have to ask first how our own teaching and learning practices elicit 'performative' identities from our students. For me, this is the value of Butler's theory. For if we "perform" gender, race, class, then we can learn to perform differently. Can we put some (performing) body into our work?

> When my students have to put a needle in somebody, they're really scared, so when they do it, I rub their backs. I think that's part of conversation, you know? Like they can feel my hand on their back. I'm right there, You're ok, You're alright, while they push the med. in I just kind of rub their back and then I leave. And they're fine and I know they're fine. Yolanda, *ATT*.
>
> My goal for the next year is to get out of this body so I can move on. Lee, *ATT*.

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Incarcerated Women's Identity Development: Becoming a Self at the Margins

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Abstract: This study explores the developmental experience of women at the margins of society. Our findings suggest that the role of connection is problematic for these women and gives rise to a self that has a restricted degree of agency, but one that is paradoxically resilient and sensitive to her social context.

It's Wednesday afternoon and the three of us are once again headed to prison, where we have a standing date with a group of approximately 20 women inmates. We've been working with these women for almost a year, first gathering individual life histories, now developing with them a program that will enable them to enrich their awareness of who they are. We have multiple goals in this study, but a central one is understanding their developmental process. How have they constructed their understanding of who they are? And how can we as adult educators help them reflect on and further develop their understanding of themselves?

While we focus this study on incarcerated women, our interest is primarily in their marginality within the larger culture. All of our women have experienced deprivation at many levels: economic, social, emotional, intellectual. They have lived with severely limited resources of all types, within contexts characterized by violence, abuse, and addiction, and within relationships that from our perspective can only be described as dysfunctional. For us, the fact that they have committed crimes is, at least for now, secondary. We want to know how women at the margins of our society have developed their sense of themselves. And our women are teaching us a lot about that.

Here we discuss some of our early findings in this study. We do that by presenting three voices, each representing a unique perspective. The first is the voice of one of the women; we call her Gail. Her story, while not true of any one of our women, is a composite of many stories and thus illustrates themes shared by the group. The second voice is interpretive; there we try to make sense of Gail's story through the lens of current developmental theory. The third voice attempts to situate Gail's experience within a larger sociocultural context. We conclude by trying to assess how we can think about women's development at the margins.

Gail's Story

I was born at the County Hospital on April 14, 1973. I'm the middle child of three: two girls and one brother. My father? Girl, I haven't seen him in a long time, but his mother sends me cards sometimes. He has other children somewhere; I think there are three, but I'm not sure. My parents divorced when I was four because my mother said my father was beating on her. I guess you could say we were poor. It seemed like every time I asked for something, my mother would say, "Girl, you know we don't have the money for that." She worked in a nursing home, until she got a new boyfriend. Then she was just gone for awhile, leaving me and my sister with my grandmother. My brother was in and out of jail. He got into lots of little troubles.

When I was 9 years old, my momma and some of her male friends was over to the house, and the bathroom door was cracked just a little bit. I stood there and I seen that man shoot that needle in my momma's arm and I just started crying. She heard me at the door, and when I seen it, I just broke out running. I was just hysterical. I didn't know what she was doing, but I knew it wasn't right. Kids ain't stupid. Later she said, "Baby, what you seen, Momma wasn't doing nothing. I wasn't doing nothing bad." There she was, just trying to fill my head up because I was young. I wasn't having none of it.

My grandmother took care of us mostly, but there was a bunch of us, so I was pretty much left alone. I still went to school; I just did everything for myself. Then when I was 11, my momma's boyfriend molested me. He was laying on the couch and he started fondling me. I tried to get away from him but he was stronger than me. When my mother came home I told her what he did, but she didn't believe me. Later on she caught him at it. I know my mom was hurt. She got out her suitcase from the closet and we went to stay with my grandmother for awhile. But she went right back to him. Right there, that's been a barrier in my life.

I met James, my baby's father, when I was 14 and he was 25. He said he had been noticing me for a while. Nobody ever said I looked good before. He had his own place and I just started staying with him. It was fun, having my own little house and my own little life. I had a little bit of money, too, from selling drugs. Eventually I came up pregnant, but by then he was in jail awaiting trial for aggravated robbery. By the time Derek was born, he was in prison.

At first, I played the good little wife, visiting him regularly. But after a while we drifted apart. I guess I was mad about this trouble he was in, and I wanted to give my baby something better than what I'd had. I moved in with my grandmother, thinking I would go back to school, but too much time had passed. I just didn't get around to it. Every day, I'd leave Derek with my grandmother and go out. I started shooting heroin. If my momma could do it, so could I. It took my mind off all the stress. I was still selling to feed my habit, so I had a little money. I'd bring clothes and toys home for the baby. But the places I usually went I didn't want to bring no baby. I didn't want him around the drug lifestyle.

I got locked up a couple times for possession with intent to distribute. I spent 8 months in County Jail the first time, and a year and a half in TDC [state prison] the second time. Now I'm here because I was at the wrong place at the wrong time. I was with this older guy, Elroy; we were out in the street and we seen this white guy come by in his car looking for dope. I didn't even know Elroy had a gun and next thing you know he's jacking the white guy. The cops come and we started running, and when they caught up with me, I gave up. I got 10 years because it was an aggravated offense.

At first I did my time the hard way, getting into messes. I was just angry at the world for putting me here. Then my grandmother came by with Derek one day and I guess it really hit me that I was a mother. Now I'm doing every day for him, trying to go home and start a new life.
I work on the hoe squad, work in the fields chopping grass like an old time slave. They don't pay you to work here in Texas. It's the best job because you don't have to work too long or think about the place you're in. But it's also the worst because you get filthy and they strip-search you every time you come in from the fields. The first time they told me to bend and cough, I was horrified. I guess you could say I'm used to it now, getting it two, three times a day.

I don't ever want to come back to this place. They tell you what to do, how to do it, when to do it, and usually they don't tell you why you're doing it that way. They mainly don't want us to get too comfortable here. I guess that's pretty effective, since now I'm ready to walk the straight and narrow. Get out of here, get me a job, take care of my son. God willing, that is.

Developmental Perspective

A central theme in women's developmental theory is the importance of connection (Chodorow, 1974; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987; Miller, 1991). Women, it is argued, develop in-relation-with rather than through separation-from significant others. As Caffarella (1992) notes, however, most of the empirical research giving rise to these theories has focused on women who are white, middle class, and relatively well educated. What saliency does connection have for women at the margins? And how does it figure in their development?

We get some insights from Gail's story. Connection for her is either dysfunctionsl or totally absent. Her mother provides little emotional support because of her drug addiction and her dependence on abusive men. Her grandmother becomes the primary caretaker, but she's overwhelmed with other responsibilities and Gail is pretty much left to her own devices. Gail is without either adult guidance or adult protection as she encounters a threatening and unpredictable world. Those who should nurture her instead abuse, neglect, and betray her. Early on she is forced to assume adult roles without ever having responsible adults, with the possible exception of her grandmother, to model herself after. She faces horrific situations--drug addiction, sexual abuse--alone and unsupported. The connection she forms with her child's father is casual at best; and her connection with her son is as dysfunctional as her own mother's was to her. Only in prison does she start thinking of herself as a parent, but that thinking is idealized and untested by reality.

What then can we say about Gail's experience of connection? It is superficial and tentative, surely, because she has every reason not to trust others. There's an economy of practicality, that of using others and being used, that guides her behavior. And there is an absence of responsibility to anyone outside herself. This is evident on the most intimate level in her relationship with her son, and on a societal level it creates the vacuum which enables her to commit crimes without concern for those hurt by her actions.

What are the developmental consequences of this? One clearly is a striking lack of agency. Gail consistently describes herself as being acted upon rather than acting. She "comes up pregnant," as though she had no responsibility for motherhood, and she is incarcerated for "being at the wrong place at the wrong time." There is no sense that she is an actor in her own play. Another consequence, somewhat paradoxically, is a sense of self that is resilient (she is, after all, a survivor) yet dependent on the structure of the immediate context to get her needs met (she is more aware of and sensitive to the outer world than she is to any world within).

As a black woman Gail experiences "multiple marginality" (Chesney-Lind, 1997b, p. 4). In black feminist theory, the self has long been conceptualized as "embodying collective reality past and present, family and community" (hooks, 1989, p. 31). hooks goes on to argue that the experience of "self-recovery," restoration of a self that existed prior to exploitation and oppression through conscientization and other means, should also be incorporated into a model of identity development for women of color. Stevens (1997), for example, describes how African-American adolescent girls' identity develops in three dimensions: mainstream society, their devalued social status as black and female, and within their own African-American cultural reference group. Identity in these terms is a complex organization of bicultural competence, sustained connection to one's own culture, and development of strategies for resistence to oppression. Our conceptualization of Gail's development must likewise take into account the complex impact of race.

Social Perspective

There is no doubt that women in prison are multiply marginalized; ethnic minorities and people living below the poverty line are over-represented in the prison population. Female inmates in Texas are predominantly women of color: 48% African American, 19% Hispanic, and 31% white. This compares with statewide demographics of 12% African American and 25% Hispanic, according to the 1990 census. Donziger (1996) notes that in the United States overall, African Americans are incarcerated "at a rate more than six times that of whites" (p. 38). Yet while the proportion of overall crime committed by African Americans has not increased for many years, their incarceration rates have increased dramatically.

Forty-five percent of female offenders in Texas report a household income under $10,000 per year (Farabee, 1994). According to the 1990 census, 18% of Texans have incomes that low. "The criminal justice system functions from start to finish in a way that makes certain that the offender is likely to be a member of the lowest social and economic groups in the country" (Reiman, 1996, p. 92).

Most women are arrested for relatively minor offenses, like theft and drug violations (Chesney-Lind, 1997b). The fivefold increase in women's incarceration rates since 1980 is not necessarily indicative of an increase in criminal behavior among women. For one thing, "the war on drugs has also become an undeclared war on women," and that has played a large part in expanding the female prison population (Chesney-Lind, 1997a).

Gail tells us a story that is common to the group with which we are working, and to incarcerated women in general. Childhood experience with physical and sexual abuse is high among female offenders. In Texas, 36% of female prisoners report having been physically abused and 30% report sexual abuse before the age of 20. Fifty-three percent report having been physically abused as adults, 37% report having been physically assaulted with a weapon. Additionally, 31% report sexual abuse in adulthood (Farabee, 1994).

Gail's drug addiction is also a common experience among the group with which we are working, and among incarcerated women generally. Ninety-two percent of female inmates report some illicit drug use, compared with 28% of adult women in Texas. In fact, female inmates report significantly more illicit drug use than male inmates, particularly higher use of heroin, crack, and cocaine. Fifty-one percent of female inmates in Texas are either alcohol or illicit drug dependent (Farabee, 1994).

We see, then, a social context which supports increased rates of incarceration for women like Gail. Understanding how these social factors impact their development is essential.

Discussion

Our findings so far suggest that becoming a self at the margins of society is a complex process in which connection is problematic and which gives rise to a self with restricted agency and a resilient but outward-focused self-awareness. We are currently doing a more intensive analysis of the women's experience of connection, looking more closely at how they construct their understanding of those connections and what meanings they give them.

We are now providing the participants in our study an opportunity to work and learn together in a weekly program. Our focus there is on in-depth reflection on their experience and exploration of alternative ways of understanding it. It is our hope that in dialectic relation to a positive group development experience, each woman can experience meaningful connections and will discover and recover her own inner sphere of freedom.

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Development of an Instrument for Identifying Groups of Learners

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Abstract. ATLAS (**A**ssessing **T**he **L**earning Strategies of **A**dult**S**) has been developed to quickly identify the learning strategy group to which the respondent belongs. The validation process involved the use of past learning strategy studies and multivariate statistical procedures.

Introduction

The concept of lifelong learning suggests that adults need to acquire a variety of process skills to enable them to address their constantly changing learning needs. This approach to learning has stimulated interest in the learning strategies that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish specific learning tasks. The Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS) has been developed to measure learning strategies in the areas of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, critical thinking, and resource management (Conti & Fellenz, 1991). In this instrument, each of the five areas consists of three specific learning strategies: Metacognition--Planning, Monitoring, and Adjusting; Metamotivation--Attention, Reward/Enjoyment, and Confidence; Memory--Organization, Use of External Aids, and Memory Application; Critical Thinking--Testing Assumptions, Generating Alternatives, and Conditional Acceptance; and Resource Management--Identification of Resources, Critical Use of Resources, and Use of Human Resources.

Since its development in 1991, numerous studies with diverse populations have been conducted using SKILLS. Collectively, these studies have found that selected demographic variables are not useful in discriminating among different groups in their learning strategy usage. However, the same studies have consistently found that distinct groups of learners exist when they are identified by the pattern of the learning strategies which they use. Together these two types of findings indicate that the patterns of learning strategy use cut across the variables such as gender and age which are typically used to group people in educational studies. Instead, the distinct groups which are inherent among people are independent of demographic labeling. Anyone can be in any group. Placement in a learning strategy group is dependent upon the strategies one chooses to use rather than being predetermined by other factors. Despite this independence, however, there are clear patterns in the learning strategies which people have a propensity to use when initiating a learning activity.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to develop an instrument for identifying the pattern of learning strategy usage of learners and to establish the validity for this instrument. The goal was to produce an instrument which was easy to administer, which could be completed rapidly, and which could be used immediately by both facilitators and learners. The instrument which was created has been entitled ATLAS (**A**ssessing **T**he **L**earning Strategies of **A**dult**S**). ATLAS utilizes a flow-chart design. Items are printed on colored cards which are one-quarter sheets of a standard-sized, 8.5" x 11" page. Sentence stems, which are in the top box on the page, lead to options in other boxes which complete the stem. Connecting arrows direct the respondent to the options. Each option leads the respondent to another box which either instructs the respondent to proceed to another colored card or which provides information about the respondent's correct group placement.

Five colored cards constitute the entire packet for the instrument. Depending upon reading level, ATLAS can be completed in approximately one to two minutes.

Construct Validity

Validity is concerned with what a test actually measures; while there are several types of validity, the three most important types recognized in educational research are construct, content, and criterion-related validity (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 457). These may be established in a variety of ways; however, they should be compatible with the overall purpose of the test (Borg & Gall, 1983, p. 275; Van Dalen, 1979, pp. 135-136). Because establishing validity is essential to the credibility of any test and because it involves several steps, "the validation of a test is a long process rather than a single event" (Tyler & Walsh, 1979, p. 29).

Construct validity assesses the underlying theory of the test. It is the extent to which the test can be shown to measure hypothetical constructs which explain some aspect of human behavior (Borg & Gall, 1983, p. 280; Van Dalen, 1979, p. 137). It is the element that allows for the assigning of "meaning" to the test (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 461). The process of establishing construct validity for ATLAS was to synthesize the results of the numerous research studies using SKILLS and to consolidate these results.

Much of the learning strategy research using SKILLS has been coordinated with the Center for Adult Learning Research at Montana State University. Thirteen doctoral dissertations have been completed using the instrument, at least three are currently underway in Montana and Ohio, and another (Uhland, 1995) used the conceptual basis from SKILLS for data gathering. SKILLS has also been used in a nationwide study using American Express financial planners (Conti, Kolody, & Schneider, 1997). The dissertation studies have involved diverse populations in various states and Canada in the areas of two-year college students (Hays, 1995; Kolody, 1997; Kolody & Conti, 1996; Strakal, 1995), the business community (Courtnage, 1998; Gehring, 1997), tribal communities (Bighorn, 1997; Hill, 1992), nursing (Lockwood, 1997), the military (Korinek, 1997; Yabui, 1993), public school administration (McKenna, 1991), students concurrently enrolled in high school and college (Ungricht, 1997), and volunteer leadership (Moretti, 1994). Collectively, these studies have produced a data set of 3,070 cases in which the data were in similar form.

Studies coordinated through the Center for Adult Learning have utilized a similar research design which was recommended by the staff at the center. This design consisted of describing the learning strategy profile of the participants, conducting discriminant analysis to determine if the respondents differed in learning strategy usage in any way on selected demographic variables, and conducting cluster analysis to uncover inherent learning strategy groupings within the sample. Several of the studies involved interviews and focus groups with the various cluster groupings to elicit qualitative data to better describe the groups.

Because it had the most general sample, the study by Kolody (1997) has been viewed by those using the instrument as the most universal, and the findings of other studies have been related to it. In order to check this assumption, a cluster analysis was performed on the entire data set of 3,070 cases. This analysis with an even larger and more diverse sample did not support the assumption that the Kolody study should serve as the conceptual basis for a general instrument for associating an individual with patterns of learning strategy use. Although many of the characteristics of the groups have been similar, the various studies using specific populations have found differing numbers of clusters among the sample: Five clusters--Gehring, Hays, Kolody, Strakal, and Ungricht (1997); four clusters--Bighorn, Courtnage, Korinek, and Lockwood; and three clusters--Conti, Kolody, and Schneider. The cluster analysis of the aggregate data set from the various studies revealed three distinct clusters.

"The key to using cluster analysis is knowing when these groups are 'real' and not merely imposed on the data by the method" (Aldenderfer & Blashfied, 1984, p. 16). Although the use of multivariate analysis of variance or discriminant analysis as a means of performing significance tests on the clusters is inappropriate statistically because of the invariably high significance results (pp. 64-65), discriminant analysis is a useful tool for exploring if a clear process exists which separates the groups (Conti, 1996, p. 71). Therefore, analyses were conducted for five-cluster, four-cluster, and three-cluster solutions using the Quick Cluster program of SPSS. Although the structure matrixes were similar for all three analyses, the discriminant functions produced by each differed greatly in their ability to correctly place learners in their correct group. The correct placement percentage for each solution was as follows: Five clusters--62.5%, four clusters--73.9%, and three clusters--96.1%. Because ATLAS is concerned with correct placement in the groups formed by SKILLS, because it is very accurate, and because it is much more accurate than the other two solutions, the three-cluster solution was selected to serve as the conceptual basis for ATLAS.

Thus, the construct validity for ATLAS was established by reviewing the literature of studies actually using SKILLS in field-based research and by consolidating the similar data from many of these studies. This resulted in the identification of three groups with similar patterns of learning strategy usage. Because of their similarity to groups in the studies which were reviewed, these groups have tentatively been named Navigators, Problem Solvers, and Engagers. The distribution of the respondents among the three groups was relatively equal: Navigators--36.5%, Problem Solvers--31.7%, and Engagers--31.8%.

Content Validity

Content validity refers to the sampling adequacy of the content of the instrument (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 458). For ATLAS, content validity is concerned with the degree to which the items are representative of learning strategy characteristics of the three groups identified in the SKILLS' research. A series of discriminant analyses were conducted to determine the differences between each grouping. At each stage of this analysis, the findings from the structure matrix for the discriminant analysis were used to determine the wording of the items.

The structure matrix of the discriminant analysis for these three groups revealed that the major process that separated the groups related to how each groups sought to accomplish the learning task. The Navigators and Problem Solvers initiate a learning task by looking externally to themselves at the utilization of resources that will help them accomplish the learning. Engagers, on the other hand, involve themselves in the reflective process of determining internally that they will enjoy the learning task enough to finish it. The learning strategies associated with the Navigators and Problem Solvers are Identification of Resources and Critical Use of Resources. Those used more extensively by the Engagers are Confidence and Reward. This process was 96.1% accurate in discriminating between the Navigators and Problem Solvers as one group and the Engagers as another group. Therefore, the items on the first card of ATLAS other than the directions card requires the respondent to choose between these concepts related to how they initiate a learning task.

Since the Navigators and Problem Solvers are grouped together on the first card, a second card is used to separate them. Since the responses are structured in a flow-chart format, the Engagers neither see nor respond to this card. The structure matrix analysis of the discriminant analysis using only those in these two groups revealed that the process that separated the Navigators from the Problem Solvers involved the way they focussed on the learning task. Navigators are much more concerned than Problem Solvers with identifying exactly what needs to be learned and on designing a plan for the learning. In contract, Problem Solvers are more concerned with identifying a variety of solutions for the learning task. The learning strategies associated with the Navigators are Attention and Planning while the Problem Solvers utilize Generating Alternatives. This process was 98.3% accurate in discriminating between the Navigators and Problem Solvers.

Since several members of three groups from the Kolody study collapsed into the Navigators group, an additional discriminant analysis was performed to investigate the structure of this group. This revealed that two subgroups compose the overall group of Navigators. One group (45%) has a strong preference for the use of human resources while the other group (55%) is more concerned with the organization of material into meaningful patterns. While these two subgroups do not constitute a separate group when they are combined with the Problem Solvers and Engagers, they do provide greater clarity into the pattern of learning strategy usage of the Navigators. Therefore, after Navigators are identified as a separate group, they are directed to a card for further uncovering this distinction.

The discriminant analysis on the Navigators, Problem Solvers, and Engagers produced two discriminant functions. Both had high enough eigenvalues (1.34 and 1.09) to be judged useful. Since the strongest function was used for the first card of ATLAS, the second function was used to create an item to check the accuracy of the responses elicited by the items which were based on the first discriminant function. The structure matrix for the second function indicated that each of the groups had one learning strategy with they preferred over the others. These learning strategy preferences were as follows: Navigators--Attention, Problem Solvers--Generating Alternatives, and Engagers--Confidence. After identifying their group placement on the cards based on the first discriminant function, the respondents are all directed to the card which instructs them to choose between these three learning strategies.

Thus, content validity was established by using discriminant analysis to determine the exact pattern of learning strategies used by each group when it was compared to the other groups. Since the three groups were originally identified by a multivariate process, the items were arranged so that respondents follow a track of questions. Qualitative data collected during field-testing to determine the best wording for items revealed that respondents might find options for distinguishing between other groups appealing to them if they saw them. Therefore, the tracks were divided and placed on smaller sheets so that the respondent could only see one item at a time. All cards are kept face down until they are used. Through this procedure, the respondents do not have access to the items that do not apply to them because they have identified themselves as belonging in another track. While ATLAS has only a few items, each item was based on the powerful multivariate procedure of discriminant analysis. Instead of using an approach which involves summing multiple attempts to identify a characteristic, ATLAS uses discriminant analysis to precisely describe the content for each item. The last item serves as a check on the accuracy of the previous items in identifying the correct group placement.

Criterion-Related Validity

Criterion-related validity compares an instrument's scores with external criteria known or believed to measure the attribute under study (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 459). Criterion-related validity was established by comparing ATLAS scores to actual group placement using SKILLS.

Groups of adult learners in Alberta, Montana, and Oklahoma were administered both SKILLS and draft versions of ATLAS. After completing the instruments, comments concerning ATLAS were gathered by means of individual interviews and group discussions. Suggestions were taken into consideration in improving ATLAS. The current version of ATLAS correctly places approximately 70% of the respondents in their corresponding SKILLS group. Focus groups are currently being conducted with each group of learners in order to gather qualitative data to describe the exact ways members of each group go about learning, the barriers they face in the learning process, and the things that facilitators do to help and hinder them in the learning process. Based upon this information, the wording of each item will be reviewed and adjusted to be extremely compatible with the comments of the group members. Once this process is completed, a criterion-related validity check will be made on the final form of the instrument.

Conclusion

One of the most exciting results of recent research related to learning strategies is the confirmation that distinct groups of learners who use clear patterns of learning strategies can be identified. These findings have been consolidated to produce an instrument, ATLAS, which can be used to quickly identify a person's group membership for learning strategy usage. ATLAS was purposely designed to be easy to use and quick scoring. Although it appears to be a very simple instrument, its contents are based on powerful multivariate statistical procedures. The final form of the instrument is available from the authors.

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Novice to Expert: How Do Professionals Learn?

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Abstract. This study examined the different learning processes used by novices and experts. Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted with novice and expert nurses. Results indicated that novice learning was contingent on concept formation. Expert learning was identified as a constructivist process using active concept integration.

Professional development patterns have been studied in physicists,(Chi, Feltovich, & Glaser, 1980), pilots (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1985), and nurses (Benner, 1982, 1983, 1984; Benner & Tanner, 1987). These studies demonstrate that professionals grow in their chosen career as they gain experience within the context of their work setting. Studies demonstrate that professionals move through a developmental continuum in which they progress from a novice to an expert. Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1985) identified that professionals move through five stages of career development which they labeled novice, advanced beginner, competent, proficient and expert.

In studies with nurses and pilots it was found that novice professionals tend to govern their practice with rule-oriented behavior (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1985; Benner, 1982, 1984; Benner & Tanner, 1987). Since novices have little experience with real situations they must rely on the rules they have learned in their prepatory education to function.

In contrast, the expert professional "has an intuitive grasp of the situation and zeros in on the accurate region of the problem without wasteful consideration of a large range of unfruitful possible problem situations" (Benner, 1982, p. 406). Expert nurses (Benner, 1984) have an unusual perceptual ability to recognize patterns in clinical situations. This pattern recognition goes beyond the theoretical and applies to the uncertainty of real-life situations. Experts also possess a common sense understanding which is a deep awareness of the client's experiences. This understanding is often based on similarities in language, culture, and experience of the expert and the client. Experts also develop a sense of salience which is the ability to determine what is salient for that particular client in a particular situation. All tasks, observations, and interventions are not seen as equally important. Rather, the specifics for that client are identified and acted upon.

The prevailing wisdom in regard to professional development is that novice professionals will develop based on the experiences they encounter in their work setting. Roger's "adoption of innovation model" (1983) describes how practice changes are initiated after the learner adopts a new idea and transfers it to the practice setting. The conventional view (Cervero, 1988) has been that professionals learn in one setting and transfer that information to their work environment. Schon (1987) expanded this view in his work on the development of reflective practice in professionals, but stopped short of identifying the actual learning processes in reflective practice.

In contrast to the above views, Daley (1997) found in a study of nurses who attended continuing education programs that experienced professionals do not apply or transfer knowledge from theory to practice. Rather, they go through a complicated process of constructing a knowledge base in practice. Constructing a knowledge base involved the integration of thinking, feeling, and acting segments of the professional role.

Even though previous research clearly articulates a pattern of professional development, there are many outstanding and unanswered questions. One of these unanswered questions is: *Do novice professionals learn in fundamentally different ways than expert professionals*? The purpose of this study was to develop distinctions between the learning processes that underlie the novice to expert continuum of professional practice development.

Research Questions

A qualitative interpretivist approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) was used to study the following research questions: 1. What different learning processes are used by novice and expert practitioners? 2. How do those learning processes contribute to professional practice development? 3. What factors limit, change or alter learning process of novices and experts?

Methodology

Twenty nurses served as the purposive sample for this study, ten novice practitioners and ten expert practitioners. Novices and experts, identified by employers and peers, were invited to participate in the study. Two data collection methods were employed, interviews and clinical narratives. Semi-structured interviews were used to examine how nurses learned to think in clinical practice. Specifically, the interviews probed how novices and experts acquired new information, how they thought in clinical practice, how they learned from experience and how they made connections between different clinical cases. Additionally, novices and experts were asked to write clinical narratives that described actual clinical cases in which they felt significant learning occurred. These narratives addressed the client case, what was learned, how that learning changed or altered their practice and how they learned to learn in practice.

Interview and clinical narrative data were transcribed and analyzed using a modified constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1973). Data analysis strategies included the use of concept maps (Novak and Gowin, 1984), category themes, and a system of matrices to compare group and individual data.

Results

Preliminary findings indicated that novice nurses tended to learn through more formal mechanisms, including review of policy or procedures, attendance at continuing education programs and reading journals. Novices appeared to learn through a process of concept formation. Experts, however, seemed to use more informal mechanisms, including consulting peers and other health care professionals. Experts constructed a knowledge base for themselves in the context of their practice. They obtained information from multiple sources, processed that information through peer-based dialogue, and changed their practice based on the revised meanings they created. Additionally, experts in this study, described themselves in two ways. Some described themselves as "serving their clients" and others described themselves as "a resource to my peers." These descriptions were often influenced by the specific role the expert played in their organization and impacted how the expert learned from their practice.

Different Learning Processes of Novices and Experts. The results of this study indicated that novices and experts used different learning processes. Novice learning processes

(See Figure 1) tended to be contingent on the process of concept formation and how that process was affected by fear, mistakes and the need for validation. To form concepts, novices described how they spent a great deal of time "just soaking up information". One nurse described how she felt like a "sponge" and continually tried to absorb as much as she could hold. Novices described how they "did not even know, what they did not know" so they would tend to "adapt to the ideas of others". "Everything I am learning is new", stated one novice, "so I just take it in and try to remember it". One nurse stated, "You know it's like that movie, 'just show me the money', well, just show me the procedure! I just need to learn how to do it." In this study, novices described how they were still forming concepts and striving to "sort it all out".

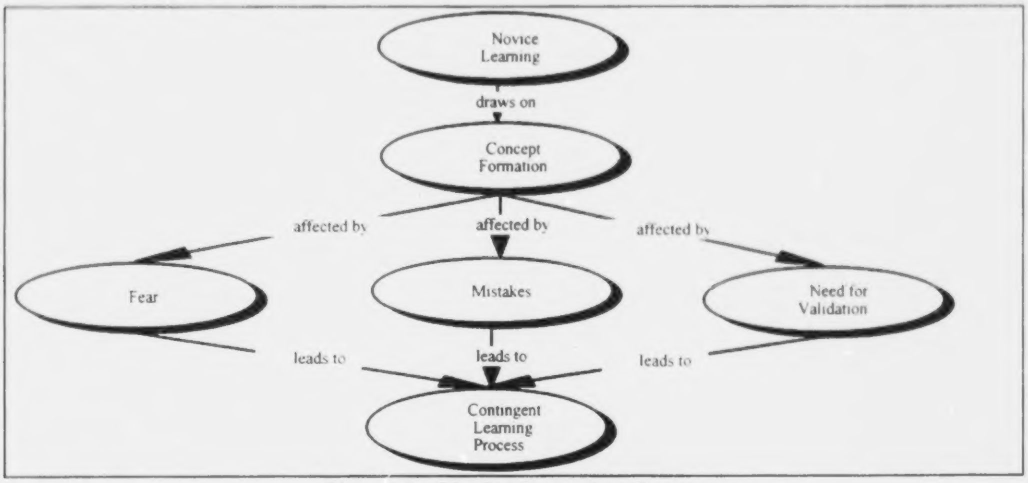

Figure 1: Novice Learning Processes

Novices described a process of concept formation similar to that defined by David Ausubel (1978). "In concept formation, the learner generates hypotheses or problem-solving propositions that aim at defining, the abstracted criterial attributes of the concept to be learned" (Ausubel, 1978, p. 100). However, this concept formation process was then affected by the novice's feelings about the context of their practice. Novices described feeling "overwhelmed", "scared to death" and they were "terrified of making a mistake". Novices described how they "needed validation" for procedures and ways of acting in their clinical practice.

Novices used the learning strategies of "asking experts, particularly the physician", "looking it up", and "taking formal courses", but these strategies were used when the novice was directed to do so. Novices indicated that rather than deciding what to learn they waited to be told. One novice indicated, "Sometimes I feel so overwhelmed, I just need to be spoon-fed the information".

Expert learning, on the other hand, tended to be constructivist learning (See Figure 2). Experts solidly grounded their learning in the needs of their clients and the context of their practice. Experts indicated that they "had a blueprint in their mind" of what their client needed and would make sure they had the information needed to meet those needs. Experts also indicated that they would actively learn new information because "that is what I need to know to work here". One nurse practitioner described how she identified that she was seeing more and more clients in need of pap smears. Since her educational background happened to be in gerontology, she had not developed this particular skill. The learning action she initiated was to arrange time with the OB-GYN nurse practitioners in her clinic so that she could add this skill to her knowledge base. This nurse took a very active role in seeking out the information she needed to provide care to her clients.

Experts also described that this active integration of concepts included their ability to "improvise", to "pick up little things", to "draw on other professional experiences", and to "draw on personal experiences". Experts indicated that both their personal and professional maturity contributed to being able to "put together the big picture".

Experts viewed formal learning opportunities as "background material" and felt that it was "being in the practice that mattered". Experts would use learning strategies of reading, library research, and discussion with colleagues. The difference was that for experts this was a much more active and self-initiated process. Experts indicated that they would go "searching themselves" for what they needed to learn. One expert stated, "I am at a point in my career where I really teach myself what I need to know".

Experts also used their experiences in a different way. Experts would learn by assimilating new information with their past experiences or by differentiating their experiences from the new information. Experts primarily learned through a process of dialogue and sharing. Experts would "go to the person with the best information, whether the person is a physician or nursing assistant" and then they would "toss around ideas" or "listen to what that person knew". One nurse described that in the home care agency in which she worked each nurse had a desk in a small cubicle. She stated, "Some of my best learning is when I push my chair back, lean around the corner and say to the person next to me, I have a client with thus and so going on, ever run into that? Then we get into this exchange of ideas that is just great".

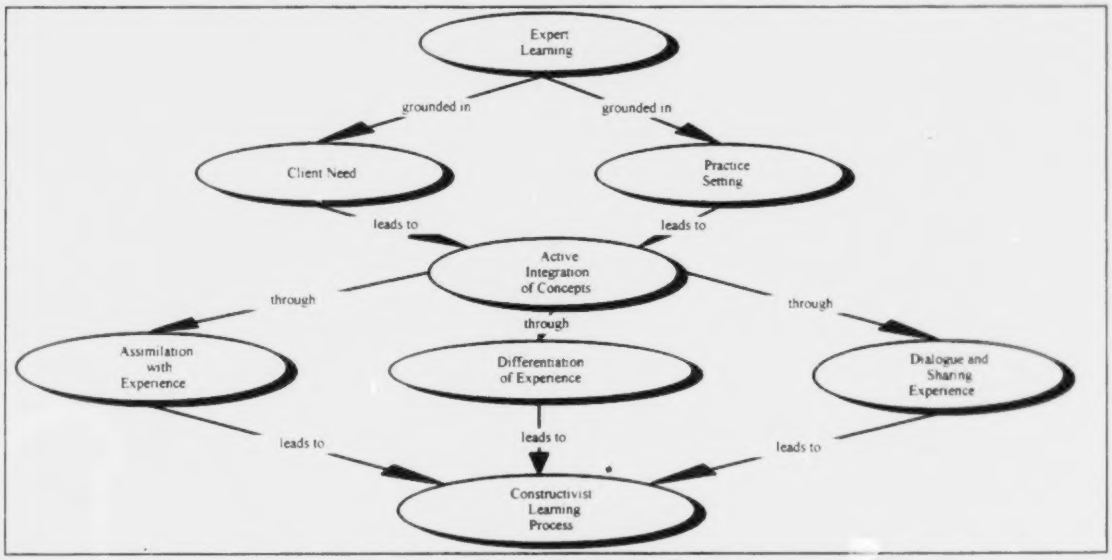
Expert Learning
grounded in
grounded in
Client Need
Practice Setting
leads to
leads to
Active Integration of Concepts
through
through
through
Assimilation with Experience
Differentiation of Experience
Dialogue and Sharing Experience
leads to
leads to
leads to
Constructivist Learning Process

Figure 2: Expert Learning Processes

Experts described their learning similar to constructivist learning processes. Experts used an active process of creating their own knowledge base by seeking out information and assimilating that information with their current knowledge base. This process then changed the character and meaning of both the new information and the previous experience, because the expert would derive a deeper level of meaning and understanding in the process.

Finally, experts indicated that they felt a great responsibility to learn so that they could share information with colleagues. Experts often felt a responsibility to "give something back to the profession by sharing what I know". It was often this feeling of responsibility that motivated experts to search out the most current information on a variety of topics. Experts learned so that they could share and at the same time learned within the process of sharing.

Factors that Support or Hinder Learning. Novices and experts identified different factors that support or hinder their learning within the context of professional practice. Novices identified that formal learning opportunities such as having a nurse educator available, having textbooks on their unit and attending care conferences were supportive. Experts unanimously identified that informal opportunities such as dialogue with colleagues facilitated their learning.

When asked to identify contextual factors that hinder learning novices described specific issues such as time, not enough in-service education sessions, and low staffing. Conversely, experts identified systematic issues such as politics, resources, and organizational structure. For example, one expert described how her agency was split into three specialty areas for service provision. She felt that this hindered learning because staff only learned the specialty, had a very narrow focus, and "there was no cross-over".

Conclusions and Implications

This study has implications for learning needs assessment and program planning within continuing professional education and staff development. First, educators need to expand their view of traditional learning needs assessment and incorporate more diagnostic skills. Educators need to be able to assess the learning needs of their audience, as well as, their career stage. Within the assessment of career stage development, educators could include an assessment of learning processes used by professionals at various career stages. A clear assessment and diagnosis of the learning processes that professionals are using has the potential to allow the educator to facilitate learning in a more individual fashion.

Second, educators need to recognize that novices learn in a contingent fashion and that this type of learning is a natural process linked directly to their stage of career development. Educators can support novice learning by simply providing information, helping the novice set learning priorities and supporting the novice during the time that they feel overwhelmed and fearful.

Third, educators need to adapt to the constructivist learning processes of experts. Educators need to provide avenues for experts to search out information, support the informal learning process they develop, and encourage dialogue around clinical cases. However, because experts ground their learning in client needs and the context of practice, the dialogue around cases needs to be grounded in "real" practice examples of the experts involved, not the decontexturalized case studies that are often used in continuing education programs.

Finally, educators can work to decrease factors that hinder learning and to support factors that facilitate learning. By combining the novice's description of specific factors hindering learning with the expert's description of systematic issues that hinder learning, educators can work toward broad based organizational change. The expert's understanding of complex systematic issues within organizations and the impact of those systematic issues on the learning of individuals can be a rich resource for educators. Additionally, educators can continue to develop the formal learning opportunities used by novices, while expanding the informal learning opportunities used by experts.

In summary, the findings of this study indicated that the learning processes underlying the novice to expert continuum of professional development will require educators to be flexible, adaptable, and to develop the ability to facilitate learning by using a wide variety of methods. This study provides educators with information on how to foster contingent learning for novices and constructivist learning for experts.

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The Relationship of Adult Education Faculty to Their Schools of Education

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Abstract. This paper reports the findings of a descriptive study examining the relationship of adult education faculty to their schools of education. Comparing responses among adult education faculty, deans of their schools, and a comparable number of deans without adult education faculty, it was found that generally deans considered the lifelong learning theme more meaningful and relevant to their schools than did adult education faculty and that minimal collaboration exists between adult education faculty and their school of education colleagues especially in the preparation of beginning K-12 teachers. Factors that may enhance the worth of adult education in academic settings are also addressed.

Purpose of Study

Since historically adult education theorists have presented our discipline as different than and distinctly separate from K-12 education theory and practice, a study to determine the collaboration between these two educational entities was conducted to investigate three research questions: 1) What is the meaning and relevance of lifelong learning in schools (colleges) of education? 2) How prevalent are adult education faculty in schools (colleges) of education? 3) Where adult education faculty are present, what is their level of connection to activities and units outside their discipline?

Theoretical Framework

The academic study of adult education remains in a precarious position in schools of education because adult education is often viewed as neither necessary nor integral to the institution's main mission: usually the preparation of beginning teachers. In its seventy plus years of existence as an academic discipline in the United States, adult education professors have tended to focus on adult education as an "emerging" field of study and emphasizing its differences from K-12 education. A look at the contents of the Adult Education Handbooks from 1934 to 1990 reveals that no chapter directly discussed the connections between adult education and K-12 education. The basic argument of adult educators was to extend the legitimacy of education beyond grades K through 12. The reverse corollary, that K-12 education could be enhanced by contributions from adult education, was never suggested.

In 1970 Knowles popularized the distinction between andragogy and pedagogy. The connection between adult education and K-12 education throughout the 1970's and 1980's was purposefully distinct as andragogy was viewed as an alternative to pedagogy and as many of the professorate were investigating the "deschooled" society, ala Illich. Peters, Jarvis, and Associates (1991) in Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study, hinted at problems that were beginning to appear nationally. They cited a Commission of Professors of Adult Education report issued in 1988 that noted nine threats to adult education programs; one was isolation from other fields and disciplines and a second was lack of commitment to other programs or departments with which they were affiliated. Discussion continued at CPAE meetings from 1991 through 1996.

The authors speculated about whether their involvement in an undergraduate teacher preparation program was typical or unique. Their experience as educators suggested there was a meaningful contribution adult educators could make to the preparation of beginning K-12 teachers: - the concept of lifelong learning could be a significant component of the function and mission of schools of education; adult educators were very capable of enriching the lifelong learning agenda in undergraduate teacher preparation programs; and, within the concept of lifelong learning there was an adhesive that connected educators of all age groups including adult educators. How commonly shared was the view of adult education professors as ambassadors for lifelong learning in their schools? The literature reviewed earlier did not address this possible collaboration and the Commission of Professors did not appear to embrace such a view, but was it more prevalent than it seemed?

Research Design

A survey consisting of 22 questions was distributed in the spring of 1996 to a purposive sample of 237 individuals. The survey was divided into five sections: 1) the degree of emphasis placed on lifelong learning in schools (colleges) of education; 2) the role performed by adult education faculty in schools of education; 3) the relationship between faculty trained in adult education and faculty trained in other education disciplines; 4) some general perceptions of adult education faculty in schools of education; and, 5) demographic information. The adult education faculty members were selected from each of 79 universities identified as having academic study in adult education in the 1991 RE/ACE Journal Index for Adult and Continuing Education Research and/or in the CPAE membership list (1994). The second group were the deans of the schools of education of the 79 institutions that had been identified in the faculty group. Finally, 79 deans of schools of education who did not have adult education programs were selected using every 12th entry from the 1995 American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education Directory of Members. Forty-six percent (110) of individuals responded to the survey: 53% of adult education faculty (42); 46% of deans in schools of education with adult education faculty (37); and 39% of deans in schools of education without adult education faculty (31). Information was collected from 60 of the 79 schools identified as having adult education faculty and from 31 schools listed as not having adult education faculty. It was disappointing that less than 25% (19 institutions) of the 79 schools identified as having adult education faculty included responses from both faculty members and their deans. The data were analyzed using the SPSSX program.

Findings

There was a significant difference between the deans and adult education faculty in positive response to the question: The concept of lifelong learning is included in the preparation program of beginning K-12 teachers (Chi-square = 28.5, with df=6. Phi=0.50882, Cramer's V = 0.35979, Lambda - 0.41). Seventy-six percent of the deans with adult education faculty and 71% of the deans without adult education faculty responded yes to the statement, while only 26% of the adult education faculty responded positively. There was a significant difference between the deans and adult education faculty in the first three questions (see Table1).

Table 1

Percentage of Yes Responses to Questions Pertaining to Lifelong Learning Emphasis in Schools of Education By Three Groups: Adult Education Faculty, Deans with Adult Education Faculty, Deans Without Adult Education Faculty

Question	Adult Ed Faculty	Deans With Ad. Ed. Faculty	Deans Without Ad. Ed. Faculty
1. Learning is viewed as a lifelong process	69%	95%	90%
2. An emphasis on learning across the lifespan is included in our mission statement	47%	73%	74%
3. The concept of lifelong leaning is included in the preparation program of beginning K-12 teachers	26%	76%	71%
4. Course work exists that emphasizes learning across the lifespan	71%	81%	67%

Note: Percentages rounded up if value is above .5.

Having explored the emphasis given lifelong learning in their schools of education, respondents were next asked to define the concept itself. Over half of each group of respondents ventured some definition. The definitions clustered into the following responses:

Lifelong learning is defined as:

1. formal/informal learning, in a global sense, throughout the lifespan
2. learning to learn
3. continuous learning in a professional sense
4. adult education
5. other

Formal/informal learning, in a global sense, throughout the lifespan was the most common definition reported by 42.9% of the adult education faculty, 48.6 % of deans with adult education faculty, and 29% of deans without adult education faculty. While the definitions were diverse there was little difference in definition of lifelong learning among the three groups. The responses were not overly different for the three groups and no relationship was found between the definition posed and responses to questions one through four.

Section two of the questionnaire looked at the presence of adult education faculty in schools or colleges of education. While 81% of adult education faculty responded that an academic unit with an adult education focus was in place, only 70% of the deans reported an adult education focused unit. Also, some deans identified as not having adult education faculty responded that they did. More interesting, 30% of the deans identified as having an adult education faculty did not perceive they had such a unit in their school. Generally, respondents noted adult education faculty devoted 80% of their teaching responsibility to graduate education and 13% to undergraduate teaching (although it was not known what the area of undergraduate teaching was.) Sixty-nine percent of the respondents noted adult education faculty do NO undergraduate teaching.

The next section of the questionnaire addressed the connection between adult education faculty to activities and units outside their discipline. When asked directly if adult education faculty participated in the preparation of beginning K-12 teaches, more than 70% of the respondents said no or that they did not know. If respondents noted that adult education faculty did participate in the preparation of K-12 teachers they were further asked to check or note the nature of these activities. Of the small number of respondents (n=27), the most frequent activities identified by adult education faculty were curriculum development (21%), conducting in service (14%), teaching in K-12 program (19%), and supervising student teachers (21%).

Section four of the survey looked more broadly at attitudes regarding the general contributions of adult education faculty to schools of education. Using a Likert Scale, this section asked respondents to determine if they strongly agreed, agreed, were uncertain, disagreed or strongly disagreed with four statements. Over 80% of each group either agreed or strongly agreed with the first statement: Adult education faculty are in a unique position to strengthen the lifelong learning emphasis in schools of education. For the statement, "Adult education faculty have much to contribute to the general mission of schools of education," nearly 90% of the respondents from each group either agreed or strongly agreed. For the third statement: K-12 teacher preparation programs are likely enhanced when adult education faculty are involved in the curricular design of the programs, over 70% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed. More interesting though was the distribution of undecided on this question: 24% of adult education faculty, 22% of deans with adult education faculty, and 23% of the deans without adult education faculty suggests that this subject may welcome further elaboration and discussion from all three respondent groups.

The last statement referred directly to the involvement of adult education faculty in the general preparation of future K-12 teachers: K-12 teacher preparation programs are likely enhanced when adult education faculty are included as teachers in the program. Of the total for all three groups, only 27% strongly agreed with this statement. Of adult education faculty, 36% were uncertain. Of the deans with adult education faculty, 43% were uncertain; while 23% of the deans without adult education faculty were uncertain. Space was also provided for additional comments about the involvement of adult education faculty in the preparation of K-12 teachers. Adult education faculty made more comments than either category of deans. Some comments reflected programs in transition where new ideas about adult education faculty involvement in undergraduate education courses and the preparation of beginning K-12 teachers were begin considered. A few comments reflected that non-adult education faculty did not desire adult education faculty to broaden their "spheres of influence" in school of education affairs, while others stated schools of education would welcome increased adult education faculty involvement in K-12 teacher preparation.

Discussion

Data from the survey provided some expected and some unexpected answers to the researchers' questions about the roles commonly performed by adult education faculty. Why would this sample of deans view lifelong learning more a component of their schools of education than did adult education faculty? Perhaps deans are more keenly aware of the ramification of politically correct answers, maybe they are more idealistic than adult education faculty, or maybe lifelong learning is viewed as a viable part of their school's mission. If lifelong learning is viewed by deans as a component of their mission, why do adult education faculty significantly disagree with the deans? Is it possible that the concept of lifelong learning is included in the preparation program of beginning K-12 teachers, but adult educators are unaware of its inclusion since they are not involved in the program? It is clear that the disparity in these two views is worthy of future research.

One out of five adult education faculty indicated that an adult education focus did not exist in their school. Perhaps these individuals were reacting to a lack of emphasis and support given to their discipline, or they were presently the only adult education faculty member, or they were housed in a unit not identified as adult education. This may reflect on the marginality of adult education in those schools.

Almost one-third of the adult education faculty were participating in the preparation of K-12 teachers. Perhaps these involvements are fairly informal or perhaps adult education faculty are not informing or educating their deans about their involvement so the deans may not be aware of the faculty's participation. If one-third of adult education faculty are participating, why isn't more discussion and attention given to this role in adult education research and literature? Are adult education faculty members afraid to admit that they spend a significant portion of their time preparing K-12 teachers (a decidedly un-adult education position)?

In almost every instance deans with adult education faculty were more optimistic than the faculty members themselves about the importance of their role and contribution to their schools. The only exception was that 81% of the faculty and only 70% of the deans with adult education faculty responded that adult education theory and practice complements other education disciplines. While approximately 40 to 50% of adult education faculty collaborated with other education faculty in teaching graduate level courses, collaborated in research and creative endeavors, and felt they were viewed as important to the overall mission of their school, it is difficult to understand why so many adult education faculty remain undecided as to whether teacher preparation programs are likely enhanced when they are included as teachers in the programs.

What is the meaning and relevance of lifelong learning in schools (colleges) of education? Deans said more strongly than adult education faculty that the lifelong learning theme is meaningful and relevant in their schools. As to whether "lifelong learning" was included in the preparation of K-12 teachers, over 70% of deans said yes, but only 26% of adult education faculty agreed. The survey indicated that rhetoric supports the concept of lifelong learning but that actual practice may not reflect that support, at least from the point of view of adult education faculty.

How prevalent are adult education faculty in schools (colleges) of education? Tallies from adult education sources in 1991 and 1994 listed 79 academic adult education programs in place at U.S. universities while the 1995 list of American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education listed 719 teacher preparation programs; therefore, only about 11% of the schools of education with teacher preparation programs appear to also have adult education programs. The numbers from this study indicated that only 13% of the adult education faculty's time is spent participating in any undergraduate teaching. Only 29% of those adult education faculty said they participated in teacher preparation programs. The survey also pointed out differences in perceptions of that participation between deans and adult education faculty.

Where adult education faculty are present, what is their level of connection to activities and units outside their discipline? Findings indicate there is minimal connection between adult education faculty and other school of education faculty. Very small numbers of adult education faculty, for example, indicated they were involved in teaching, curriculum development, in service and supervision of student teachers in undergraduate teacher preparation programs and even fewer deans were aware of their participation.

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

Survey results indicate that adult education faculty are continuing their history of isolation as a discipline within schools of education. Whether that is intentional or not is hard to say. But it seems quite clear that such isolation is especially unfortunate when schools of education appear to share with adult education faculty a genuine interest in themes such as learner-centered education and learning across the lifespan. Be it arrogance or the lack of opportunity, the silence of adult education faculty when school of education colleagues discuss and implement "best practice" for teachers (from preschool to post secondary education) seems doubly regrettable: besides lacking a valuable forum to contribute their varied perspectives on learning and teaching, adult educators often remain uninformed of some marvelous and successful approaches to instruction. From the direct experience of the authors of this report, the bogeyman of "unenlightened" and "unsympathetic" K-12 educators seems more a figment of the imagination than reality. The time is long overdue for adult education programs to confront their apprehensions of and their isolation from K-12 education.

On a practical and self-serving note, given the current climate in higher education that often demands integration, accountability, justification for all academic disciplines, and a sufficient number of generated credit hours, the fate of adult education programs may greatly depend on how well the faculty hear and heed the signals addressed in this study: i.e., weave themselves into the very fabric that defines the mission of their school and generate enough credit hours in undergraduate education to support their discipline. Finally, if adult educators truly believe what they profess about lifelong learning, how can they not be involved in all aspects of education, including teacher preparation?

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Vital Work: Adult Development Within the Natural Workplace

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Abstract: This phenomenological study explores meaning and experience within the natural workplace. The educative potential is revealed through the organizations' quest to nurture the human spirit at work and to create a more socially just work society. Findings illuminate conditions most conducive to growth and development within the context of work.

Introduction

Efforts to "reinvent" the corporation depict a struggle to establish a vision of work founded on a more clearly articulated set of humanistic values (Aktouf, 1992). Embedded within the ideas of continuous quality, learning organizations, and empowerment lies at least implicit understanding of the critical role of learning and the cultivation of human spirit, capacity, and development. Evidence suggests, however, that the status quo of power, control, division of labor, and division of profits is retained by what may be considered a false humanism (Aktouf, 1992; Block, 1997). The perception of participation is often orchestrated through rhetoric and new programs which suggest inspirational outcomes associated with corporate performance (Briskin, 1996). The very acts of learning and knowing are reduced to value-added strategies founded on the idea that people can be improved like other forms of physical capital (Dirkx & Deems, 1996). This ideology fosters a narrow and restrictive growth--a miseducative experience--in both the individual and the organization (Dewey, 1938; Welton, 1991).

The notion that people learn only what is designated by others is a pedagogical fallacy that is potentially damaging to the organization (Jarvis, 1992) as well as to the individual. Learning is intrinsic within the workplace and the experiences people have within this setting (Marsick & Watkins, 1990). Perhaps lesser known than many of today's work reforms is a transpersonal or psychodynamic perspective of workplace development (e.g., Fox, 1994; Sinetar, 1987; Stein & Hollwitz, 1992). This perspective focuses on conducting work in a manner which promotes the growth and welfare of the individual as well as the larger society. Such workplaces show evidence of fundamentally different assumptions of human nature and appear to recognize the workplace as a primary site for adult development and the growth of the human spirit. This is a view reflected in a more natural experience of work--"natural" in the sense that it ceases to artificially create or manage an experience for others (Semler, 1993)--that appears to be more consistent with human nature. Work can and should be educative, cultivating environments for growth, expression, and connectedness. Within such organizations, the every-dayness of people's experience becomes a continuous context and source of learning and of self-knowledge.

Natural or more fully human workplaces remain, however, under-researched, and much of what exists emphasizes a *perception* of work, rather than on the *experience* of work. The purpose of this study was to explore how people experience and make meaning of the natural workplace, to further our understanding of the qualities and characteristics of such an environment, and to investigate ways in which the natural workplace may provide an educative work experience, contributing to people's growth and development.

Research Design

Learning is not simply about the exchange or accumulation of facts and information. It is about our experience of the world (Dewey, 1938; Jarvis, 1992; Kincheloe, 1995). Because the essence of experience is meaning-making, this study was grounded in Husserl's (as in Moustakas, 1994; Sinha, 1969) concept of phenomenology. Twenty co-researchers participated in this study, coming from two work organizations which met the established criteria for a "natural" workplace[1]. Both participating organizations are located in the midwest: one was a 25-person marketing organization, the other an 850-person manufacturing firm. The co-researchers included both exempt and non-exempt workers and represented a range of diversity in terms of age, length of employment within the organization, and educational levels achieved.

Data was collected and triangulated through the use of focus groups, in-depth unstructured individual interviews, follow-up meetings with the co-researchers, non-confidential documents, and informal site observation. Data collection and analysis followed the structures outlined by Moustakas (1994, pp. 84-119), consisting of an 8-step process of obtaining descriptions of people's experiences, the creation of meaning units based on experience, clustering these units into themes, synthesizing these themes, and constructing individual and composite textural and structural descriptions for all participants. From the analysis, a composite synthesis of the meanings and essences of experience was created, resulting in a universal description of the experience of natural or vital work. Participants assisted in negotiating the study's conclusions.

Findings

Findings reveal these workplaces as relatively unstructured, with open systems of communication, open door policies, the formation and reformation of work groups for functional work, high levels of personal autonomy, varied opportunities for friendship, and fluid work practices. Life is both hectic and draining for these participants, filled with conflict, ambiguity, uncertainty, and high emotion. It is an experience filled with contradiction and paradox: that which is draining becomes also a source for new energy and growth, where conflict and uncertainty provide sources for understanding and learning from others, and where high emotion is balanced by a sense of safety and security. It is "vital," as one person described, containing the very substances of life, animation, and spirit. Participants presented their experience in terms of themes used to describe and structure the experience of work:

Being at work. The data reveal intense feelings associated with being at work within these workplaces, ranging from frightening to exhilarating. These feelings were typically attributed to the overall pace of work and the levels of energy necessary to accomplish both personal and organizational goals: "it's a roller-coaster," "a tornado," and "a 50-yard dash." Participants frequently described the outcomes of the intense energy and emotion in terms of pride in both personal and collective accomplishments, and a strong sense of being able to be more "real" or "authentic" at work.

Structures and processes. Typically, work structures and processes are minimal and somewhat vague, left largely to personal and group interpretation. There is little paperwork to support the processes, and participants were often uncertain as to specific work policies in place. Goals and expectations, both explicit and implicit, are originally defined by the company presidents but quickly become owned by individuals and work groups. A common fear among participants is that as the organizations continue to grow, increasing structure and formalized work processes may become necessary, replacing loose parameters with more rigid structure.

How work is conducted. Though some formal structures and processes are in place, work is actually conducted within the dynamics of work groups or teams which are both functional and specialized. Being a team is seen as less a configuration of individuals and more as an idea and attitude carried by people. Participation is not simply "allowed," but represents an approach to work that is cultivated throughout a person's tenure. Likewise, "empowerment" is not something given but a condition of human nature that is inherent in the individual and expressive of the human spirit. Central to how work is conducted is the idea of having fun, joking around, and the cultivation of informal relationships. The work done is enhanced and supported by recognizing contributions--being noticed, and noticing others. This is an aspect of caring for and needing others to be successful, and carries over into relationships with clients and customers as well.

Comparing and contrasting past work experiences. Examples from past work experiences included rigid and well-defined structures and processes that were seen to restrict and constrain them. Time clocks and rules were used to exemplify what constituted most business and corporate environments. The comparisons made were presented in terms of what was learned within the more traditional work experiences and included such things as not being trusted or valued, reduced self confidence, greater satisfaction with the status quo, and a deadening of any initial desire to go "above and beyond" what was asked of them.

Learning and knowing. Learning was presented as both intentional and unintentional, starting with the transition from a previous work or school experience to their present point in time. Intentional learning was typically self-directed in nature, and the organizations provide ongoing opportunities for people to learn by, for example, access to a corporate library, software, audiotapes, conferences, professional journals, and tuition assistance. The emphasis was with learning needs being identified by the individuals themselves. Outcomes of both intentional and unintentional learning were presented primarily in terms of changes in their self-perception and benefits to the organization.

Trust and responsibility. Perhaps the primary vehicle for accomplishing work tasks and developing a new sense of self rested with issues of trust and responsibility. Meeting the challenges this presented is difficult and viewed as something that is learned over time. Trust was often discussed in terms of symbols or workplace conditions which served as examples to them of being trusted, including such things as the lack of rigid rules governing their behavior, or leadership's encouragement of choice and autonomy. Increased trust and responsibility heightened people's sense of being accountable to others, and provided the basis for the paradoxical relationship between personal choice and working for the collective good. Only over time did people begin to also trust themselves, often having to un-learn behaviors and defenses necessary in earlier environments but which serve now as barriers to their effectiveness and growth.

Leadership. A wide range of leadership qualities were highlighted, primary of which was their sense of a leader "not being a manager." There is a very strong perception that, in spite of leaders' fast movements and busy days, leaders were noticing what people were doing, who was putting in extra effort, and what accomplishments were being made. Leaders verbalize what they observe and give frequent and spontaneous recognition for contributions made. Reward systems are both formal and informal, including profit sharing, verbal praise, and showcasing accomplishments in public ways.

Dark side of work. Participants' descriptions also included a dark side to working within these environments, and people expressed a great deal of frustration with having to deal with ambiguity, contradictions, and paradox. Personal conflicts with co-workers were identified by a majority of participants as being difficult to confront and resolve, and presented as a "down-side" to having close personal and social relationships at work.

Meaning in Work. According to these participants, work constitutes how they care for themselves and others--how they contribute to the world. Work means personal growth through the daily struggles and challenges, through expressive activity, and an ever-broadening perception of their presence in the world. It means the "thrill" and pride in "seeing something come from nothing," or in "pushing myself to do what I did not believe I could do." The experience of trust, responsibility, being connected with others, and recognition help to create meanings of value and of the awareness of one another's essential humanity. In instances where these have been absent in past work experiences, participants presented an overwhelming reliance on financial outcomes to define meaning within work. While the material rewards as a meaning for work remained for all participants, these dimmed as people engaged more closely with others in purposeful work.

Discussion

Central to Dewey's (1938) ideas of educative environments is the belief that participatory or democratic social arrangements promote a better quality of human experience (p. 34) and are more likely to result in experiences which arouse curiosity and strengthen initiative--necessary conditions for the desire to go on learning. The natural workplace expresses its educative potential through interaction with others, structures and systems for communication which demand interpersonal competence and dialogue, and the encouragement of postformal thought through processes which compel a complex means of problem-solving. Even the conflicts inherent in this environment serve as a potential source for individual and collective growth as people are encouraged to move from self-protective behaviors to ever-increasing autonomy (Loevinger, 1980). The negative dimensions of work are balanced in part by ample opportunities for informal relationships; socialization, friendship, and fun provide opportunities to re-energize and rejuvenate from the complexities present within the workplace. Participants in this study indicated that interaction with others, and the nature of relationships which developed impacted not only the quality of the work produced but also their sense of self. Cognitive development accompanies increases in social-cognitive experience (e.g., Sinnott, 1993) as people become challenged to reflect on their beliefs or behaviors, to debate and dialogue, and to approach their work more critically. Increasingly complex ways of solving problems also develop with social experience at work and encourage critical and postformal thought (Mezirow, 1991; Sinnott, 1993).

The natural workplace depicts an organizational consciousness which values mindfulness--the active processing of information, differentiation, and awareness of context (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991; Langer, 1989). Langer (1989) proposes that human potential can be expanded through processes which demand an active rather than passive experience of work, cultivating individuals who continually create new challenges for themselves. Organizational goals are achieved in such a way that people are originators rather than pawns, and expressive creativity encourages innovation rather than conformity and satisfaction with the status quo. Organizational leaders play a key role in developing mindfulness--not by way of control and power but rather in terms of their careful attention toward what will be of most use to the workers. Findings suggest that by de-structuring work and through the manifest valuing of the whole person within the organization, the natural workplace removes the barriers placed by fragmented and alienating work which serve to restrict and distort growth.

Conclusion and Implications

Learning and knowing within the workplace are not aspects of work which *might* happen, but aspects of work which *do* happen. As persons concerned with both learning and work, this directs our attention to *what* is learned within the context of work--the developmental opportunities that are embedded within the ways we structure, organize, and conduct work. The findings within this study suggest that real and fundamental change within the workplace evolves not through the application of cosmetic changes but through dynamic and contradictory means; development is not a function of training but a way of conducting work as a whole. This study reveals characteristics of educative work environments which return the person at work to that of a subject who acts upon his or her world, rather than an object to be acted upon. Such a workplace demands of people greater flexibility, the development of new skills, and a high tolerance for ambiguity. Fortunately, these environments provide opportunities for developing these qualities.

Reframing organizations as sites for adult development begins with critical assumptions concerning human nature: that people are active constructors, not pawns, within the workplace; that we carry in us an innate drive to create something larger than ourselves; and that we are naturally motivated and empowered. The findings of this study, together with anecdotal evidence, prior research and theory of the relationship between work and learning, suggest central principles for the cultivation of the natural workplace. While these principles are not necessarily exhaustive, they nevertheless guide the concrete ways in which educative work is structured and organized.

First, it is imperative that people within the workplace be seen as active and willing participants rather than as instruments of production. We must abandon management based on authority and in its place create opportunities which nurture people's desire to belong, to contribute, and to engage in meaningful work. Managers are not "artisans of liberation" (Aktouf, 1992); rather, a culture of convergence and sharing must be inserted into actual practice where people act on their intentions through reasons, feelings, and choices rather than by "causes."

Participatory and self-directing work processes provide the necessary opportunities for a more unitive life and growth through autonomy, relationship, and engagement with others. This participation, however, must remain unrestrained by channels of command and control mechanisms. Rather than simply a symbolic participation, people must participate in a real way with the sharing of profits, power, property, and decisions. The *perception alone* of autonomy, being valued, and participation will not sustain the more humanized workplace; as Aktouf describes (1992), it must be a lived rather than appropriated experience, one which holds the human actor in high regard in an authentic way.

It is critical that an organization become willing and able to reflect on itself, to critique and question its own work relations, and to cultivate a more mindful or conscious orientation to the full environment in which it operates. This more conscious and critical perspective provides the means for increasing both personal and collective capacity, to expand identity and embrace a larger view of ourselves in the world.

The fragmentation of work, the separation of the person from his or her expressive nature, the segmented control of information and knowledge, and alienation from each other, must cease. A greater sense of holism, of connectedness and interconnectedness, must be recognized as it pertains to the worker and the product, the person and the environment. The arena of work must be seen in its full complexity and multidimensional character. This includes the relation between language and work and the relationship between communication, information-sharing, and a person's ability to contribute in a meaningful way. The person at work must not be separated from the symbols, meaning, society, emotions, and free will which constitute our humanity.

Finally, the purpose of work based strictly on economic assumptions must be challenged. Where more traditional workplaces and many workplace reforms focus on profit and consumption as primary goals, the natural workplace understands these as natural byproducts of a more humanized environment and as a means to contribute to a greater cause. Work is not simply about money but about satisfying our human need for self-expression, innovation, community, and purpose.

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The Formation of Identity in High-Achieving, Mexican-American Professional Women

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Abstract: This study examines how ten, high-achieving, professional Mexican-American women negotiate the Mexican-American and Anglo cultures and identifies what impact this negotiation has on their sense of identity. The women's early socialization determines whether they acculturate to the dominant culture; irritate it; adapt to it; or reject it.

"Know thyself" the ancient oracle at Delphi counseled wisdom seekers. Valid today as it was centuries ago, the oracle's advice is essential to adult development as it cultivates a sense of self and offers an internal coherence enabling the individual to determine and pursue life choices.

Women, however, face particular challenges in the identity formation process. As Josselson (1987) notes, "the most important developmental task facing women today is the formation of identity, for it is in the realm of identity that a woman bases her sense of herself as well as her vision of the structure of her life (p. 3)." By its very nature, society can impede this process. Society functions as a guide for behavior imposing socially constituted and accepted ways of thinking and being for its members.

Cultural identity can be another significant barrier to individual identity formation in women, and this is definitely the case for Hispanic women. Family traditions and socialization processes maintain attitudes and behavior that may restrain future growth and as a result, can be seen as impediments to the formation of identity and adult development. For these women, integration with the dominant culture within the workplace becomes problematic as respected family values are challenged. As Anzaldua (1987) so aptly describes, "Like other having or living in more than one culture, we get multiple, often opposing messages. The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference causes *un choque*, a cultural collision" (p. 78). The Mexican-American woman entering the professions finds herself negotiating meaning between two cultures and in the process renegotiating her sense of self. As increasing numbers of Mexican-American women enter the professions, many find the intersection of two cultures problematic. The purpose of this study was to explore how high-achieving Mexican-American professional women negotiate the Mexican-American and Anglo cultures and to identify what impact this has on their sense of identity.

The nature of this study shaped the choice of methodology. The formation of identity examines the individual within the context of the phenomenological self, the "ideas, images, and thoughts" (Denzin, 1992, p. 31) constructed by an individual situated in a unique sociocultural context. A qualitative research methodology was used to study the subjective constructions of the participants and to acknowledge the historical, cultural, and social contexts in which an individual is situated.

The primary research question posited by this study was to determine the process by which high-achieving Mexican-American women negotiate the passage between the subculture and the dominant culture and to ascertain its impact on identity. The interview was selected as the method of data collection that would best capture the formation of identity within the ten participants' life histories. The first interview contextualized the participant within the formative years of childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood. Research questions in this session asked women to talk about childhood socialization experiences that included family, friends, key events, early educational experiences through graduate school, and career development. The second interview focused on cultural transitions and asked women to reflect on themselves as the product of family, education and career, and as professionals functioning in two cultures.

Data analysis focused on the process of categorizing excerpts from twenty interviews into general categories. The categories were then compared to each other and developed into themes. While part of this study draws from traditional qualitative methods that sort and code data into themes, the participant profile was also used as means of situating each participant within the social context of her life and culture (Seidman, 1991). A snapshot of the woman's life history, the profile sought to distill the essence of the woman's personality, to convey self-representations, and to support and add depth to the conceptualizations found within each category.

Findings from this study suggest that the nature of the childhood determines how the women will relate to the larger society in adulthood. I found four distinct patterns of adjustment or ways of relating to the dominant culture: they acculturate to it, irritate it, adapt to it, or reject the mainstream American culture.

Acculturators identify with the dominant society. They do not shift between cultures but stay in one place, seeing the experience as holistic. "It's a whole package..... I don't see that I'm shifting from one [culture] to the other," says one participant. Acculturators work well within the system, defined as the workplace; educational, political, and religious institutions; and the people who represent these institutions. The system has consistently validated, recognized, and confirmed their abilities and self-worth. Society's rules worked for these women. As a result, these women feel trusted and accepted; they experience a sense of belonging to the dominant culture. They attribute their career successes to expertise, knowledge, and hard work. For these women, identity is primarily defined by career. The childhood of an Acculturator influenced the way in which this woman engaged the dominant culture. Their childhoods are characterized by a stable, nurturing home life, economic stability, paternal modeling of learning habits, positive educational experiences, early exposure to the dominant culture, and no reported childhood and adolescent experiences of racism.

Irritants identify with Mexican-American values and see themselves in conflict with Anglo culture. They work from within the dominant culture to change unjust institutional structures. Highly sensitive to issues of social, political, and economic injustice, they are willing to take political action to redress the system. Recalls one participant: "So I spent a lot of time dealing with that [civil rights] issue in terms of fighting for rights that I thought we deserved, that I knew we deserved." Serving as voices for the oppressed, they challenge the system in confrontational ways. These women have a clear sense of right and wrong and are often unwilling to compromise on issues of justice. They pay a high price for their political positions, experiencing rejection and marginalization. For this particular group of women, acutely aware of the theoretical dimensions of injustice, the experience of being marginalized, devalued, and ignored is not lost in a haze of confusion. Intellectuals and visionaries, Irritants have a conceptual understanding of their experience. They use their intellectual ability to theorize, abstract, project, and envision, making the connections between power and racism, sexism, and oppression. Ethnicity is a major factor shaping the philosophy and practice of these women. For Irritants, identity is lodged in ethnicity. Their childhoods are marked by poverty, unhealthy family situations, racism, and oppressive learning environments. As children, Irritant circumvented rules and nurtured rebellious and nonconformist attitudes.

Adapters move between both cultures seeing them as distinct and isolated from one another. Developing different selves enables them to move from one culture to the other without outward conflict. Highly perceptive and conscious of the roles they play within cultures, they are especially sensitive to the discord adaptation creates within themselves. As one participant stated, "At this point I'm still crossing the bridge fairly effortlessly. But the burden is that you always have to split yourself." Adapters are pragmatic individuals who strategically maneuver through the system. In the workplace right and wrong are not viewed as opposites; compromise is an acceptable solution. As idealistic as Irritants, Adapters are less likely to pay a price for their minority stance because they have learned to capitalize on positive and negative opportunities. Motivated by success, connection to work is what activates these women. As children, Adapters share some common socialization experiences with Acculturators. They were raised in families that valued, protected, and sheltered children. They often described themselves as children as "special," "perfect," and "protected." Stable and secure, families possessed some economic resources and utilized the extended family in a variety of ways to help make ends meet. Mothers were influential. Some possessed strong personalities and a work ethic, while others were more traditional, consistently supportive and encouraging. Adapters experienced fewer instances of discrimination as children; when they experienced discrimination as young adults, they responded with shock and disbelief. Their response to crises was to regroup, rethink, and revise personal strategies.

The Rejector is able to succeed within the dominant culture but rejects it in favor of traditional values. The system has not always worked for this person, but she persevered and achieved despite great difficulties. She resolves the internal conflict characteristic of the Adapter by leaving the dominant culture altogether. As a child, this person developed a strong work ethic and belief in the Catholic religion. Faith, education, and thrift were core values. The Rejector dichotomizes the Anglo culture and the Mexican-American culture. She states, "Now how you make these career choices is the Hispanic in me, the Catholic in me. That's the Mexican in me. The Mexican in me says we're here to serve and not be served. The Anglo says, "You've got to be an individual, be independent, make all the money you can make because you've got to serve yourself." Associating the dominant culture with the ethic of individualism and independence, she clearly prefers and is most comfortable in the warmth and spirituality of her own culture. For the Rejector, identity is located within the domain of ethnicity. The Rejector's early socialization included strong family values and an ingrained work ethic. Sheltered within her family and small border-town community, this person had no access to the dominant culture. Socialized with a strong religious orientation in her life, religion continues to play a vital role in her life.

In conclusion, the common assumption is that all Mexican-American women shift between cultures and experience conflict as a result. Yet there is more to this supposition. The process of negotiating two cultures is seen in the dynamic patterns of adjustment determined by childhood socialization and moderated by adult experience. Conflict is not common to all participants and four factors act to moderate this cultural collision: the safe environment provided by family life, availability of economic resources, quality of educational experiences, and consistent exposure to the dominant culture. Social class mediates among the dominant culture, the minority culture, they family, and the individual. Social class, the family's social position within the larger society as determined by its access to income and education, influences how the individual will engage with the dominant culture as an adult. Social class then becomes a factor that shapes identity.

The theoretical implications that stem from this study center upon the constructivist proposition that our interpretation of reality and truth is rooted in the social environment in which we experience the world. For Mexican-American professional women, the subculture plays a key role in determining not only identity but also in forming a world view that is very different from that of the dominant society. This world view shapes unique patterns and strategies used to engage the learning, professional, and/or cultural environment.

In educational practice, this theory can help Mexican-American women understand themselves better so they are more comfortable with who they are and with what they do best in both cultural domains. In the workplace, mentoring programs can be better suited to meet women's needs when the patterns of adjustment to the dominant culture are taken into account.

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Knowing the Self Through Fantasy: Toward a Mytho-poetic View of Transformative Learning

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Abstract. Research suggests that adult learning can have a profound effect on our sense of self. Emergence of transformational theory provides a framework for understanding these processes of self-knowing. Yet, this research and theory is dominated by an heroic perspective, in which transformation results from hard effort of a rational ego. Relying on a philosophy of imagination and Jungian psychology, transformative learning is re-visioned here as a journey of soul, in which image and fantasy mediate processes of self-knowing.

Recent theoretical approaches to understanding learning in adulthood have underscored the importance of subjective as well as objective aspects of knowledge. We understand the process of coming to know the text as inherently contextual, subjective, and participatory, one in which we construct meaning of what it is we are coming to know. The idea of adult learning as a process of personal meaning-making has received considerable momentum from the development of transformation theory, particularly as is articulated by Daloz (1986), Mezirow (1991, 1995), Cranton (1994), and others. These scholars propose a view of adult learning as an ongoing, continuous process of re-constructing the meaning of our experience and reflecting a capacity for individual growth, change, and transformation. Within this framework, however, the role of adult learning within processes of self-formation and re-formation is understood largely from a cognitive-developmental perspective. Taken as narrative, this story reveals a sense of transformative learning as an heroic journey undertaken by a rational ego in pursuit of consciousness and enlightenment. In advancing a more participatory understanding of knowledge, however, this view of transformative learning, understates non-egoic processes of learning and the role of imagination in self-transformation. As a result, it fails to adequately account for the emotional and spiritual dimensions that seem to be a critical aspect of transformative learning experiences (Taylor, 1997).

In this "age of information," we need to re-vision how "text" - the skills, content, or subject matter in adult learning - obtains personal or collective meaning and significance. What seems to be needed for this transformation of information into deeply meaningful knowledge to occur? How might the learning of this text be envisioned in a way that we also foster transformation of our selves and the world in which we live? These are the questions with which I have been alternately struggling and dancing in my own learning, teaching, and research. To address these questions fully, more than a shift from the dominant paradigm of technical-rationality to contextual learning or constructive knowing is needed (Sloan, 1983). Attention to imagination, feeling, and fantasy are also critical dimensions of this sense-making process. Building on constructivist and imaginative traditions already present in adult learning, my purpose here is to contribute to the emergence of an alternative view of transformative learning, one in which transformation is seen as a process of self-knowing evoked and guided by, embedded in, and derived from image and fantasy rather than analytical conceptions alone. I suggest that, when viewed from this point of perspective, transformative learning is better understood as an on-going, mythic journey of the soul.

The Role of Imagination in Adult Learning

In general, imagination has not received extensive attention from scholars of adult learning or its role in transformation. Only a few have incorporated the notion within their thinking. In discussing the process of meaning-making, Mezirow (1995, p. 39) states that "We interpret the meaning of each new sensory experience by imaginatively projecting images and value-laden symbolic modes upon our sensory experience and, by metaphorical inference, construe meaning." Imagination is, in Mezirow's (1991, p. 83) words, indispensable to understanding the unknown. Mezirow sees imagination as a process of alternative ways of seeing and interpreting our world. Brookfield (1987) refers to the word "imagine" as one of the most powerful in our language (p. 111). Clark (1997, p. 17)) speaks of the imagination as "the place where our experiences (inner and outer, conscious and unconscious) are filtered. The imagination is where our actions are shaped based on the assumptions we hold."

With the possible exception of Clark, however, these views suggest that imagination is in the service of more conscious, rational, and ego-based forms of learning. The idea that imagination leads to conceptual ways of understanding and meaning-making, however, reflects only one orientation within a broader philosophy of imagination, dating back in a formal sense at least to the work of the 18th century Italian scholar, Giambattista Vico (Verene, 1981), and reflected in more contemporary scholars such as Cassirer, Langer, Johnson, Warnock, and Bohm. While this philosophy challenges exclusive reliance on rational and conceptual modes of knowing and learning (Verene, 1981, p. 30), the idea that imagination is a kind of precursor to conceptual or reflective thought represents what I call the *rationalist orientation* within this broader tradition. Proponents of this view see knowing through imagination eventually being represented in language, belief systems, reason, and rationality, through which we then come to know ourselves and the world (e.g. Bohm, 1980; Mezirow, 1995). Imagination and emotion are understood as perceptual aids which help us see the world in more creative and rich ways, a kind of prereflective, "presentational construal" (Mezirow, 1991) that creates alternatives and possibilities on which we can reflect and analyze. Ultimately, Mezirow and others within this orientation understand meaning-making, in a transformative sense, as a conceptual and rational process. They stress primacy of ego consciousness and rely on conceptual representations of reality.

The core of the problem, then, in understanding transformative learning as meaning-making and self-knowing is an unquestioned belief that meaning and self-knowledge are derived from a rational consideration of the text in light of one's experiences, that meaning and knowledge are ultimately derived from rationality. While helpful in some respects, this view of transformative learning virtually ignores the role that imagination and fantasy play in coming to know our selves within particular contexts of learning. Along with Boyd (1991; Boyd & Myers, 1988), and others, I hold as a principle aim of adult education to foster knowledge of one's self, or self-knowing. By this I mean enhancing our capacity to connect and dialog with those aspects of the self not readily available to the waking, conscious self and, through this process of dialog, to elaborate and deepen our understanding of the many different aspects of one's psyche that make up the self or, as Hillman (1975) might say, the many selves that make up the human psyche. At the core of this view of transformative learning is the idea that the text, broadly understood, represents a significant potential for self-transformation. In this view, the self transacts with the text in a way that fosters not only construction of knowledge but re-construction or re-formation of the self.

In the remainder of this paper, I sketch an alternative conception of transformative learning as self-knowing. This perspective relies on archetypal psychology and a philosophy of imagination, in which meaning and truth are revealed through imagination and fantasy - a poetics of mind - and not merely rational ways of knowing. Building on prior work (Boyd, 1991; Boyd & Myers, 1988; Clark, 1997; Dirkx, 1997; Dirkx & Deems, 1996; Nelson, 1997; Scott, 1997), I argue for a view of transformative learning mediated by images and reflecting a journey of soul.

A Mytho-Poetic Perspective of Transformative Learning

Much of adult learning provides a context for fostering a kind of self-knowing that enriches both the individual and her or his social world. The perspective I am trying to develop seeks a deeper understanding of the emotional and spiritual dimensions that are often associated with these profoundly meaningful experiences. By approaching these experiences imaginatively rather than merely conceptually, learners locate and construct, through enduring mythological motifs, themes, and images, deep meaning, value, and quality in the relationship between the text and their own life experiences.

A philosophy of imagination challenges exclusive reliance on rational and conceptual modes of knowing and learning and the technicism and literalism they foster. A philosophy of imagination "places the image over the concept, the speech over the argument, and the mythic divination over the fact" (Verene, 1981, p. 30). When speaking about imagination, image, the imaginal, and fantasy, we use these terms not in the sense of imaginary, fictive, or otherwise unreal, but as "the central importance of imagination and insight in all our thinking and knowing....our means of interpreting the world...also our means of forming images in the mind" (p. 140). Images are *the way* in which we perceive, see, and come to know ourselves and the world. They play a critical role in making sense of our experiences by allowing us to find value and meaning in them (Hillman, 1989, pp. 21-22). Fundamentally, understanding flows from images and not rational categories. As Moore (1992) suggests, "We have a longing for community and relatedness and for a cosmic vision, but we go after them with literal hardware instead of sensitivity of the heart" (p. 208). "Thinking" our way through this mind-body split is, according to Moore, part of the problem and not a resolution. He suggests another possibility, one in which imagination connects us, through its images, in a deep and profound way with the depth of our being. This is the path of soul or mytho-poetic consciousness.

The "text" in adult learning represents a potential for connection with and nurturing of soul, of deep imaginative approaches to understanding ourselves and our relationship with the world. The *psyche* or soul is central to understanding who we are as persons and as a society. Soul manifests itself in consciousness as a search for meaning in life. Moore (1992) suggests that "Tradition teaches us that the soul lies midway between understanding and unconsciousness, and that its instrument is neither the mind nor the body, but imagination" (p. xi). It is not a thing but a quality of experience - of life and of ourselves. Soul has to do with heart, depth, relatedness, depth, and personal substance. Hillman (1975) suggests that "the word refers to that unknown component which makes meaning possible, turns events into experiences....soul refers to the *deepening* of experiences....the imaginative possibility in our natures, the experiencing through reflective speculation, dream, image, and fantasy -that mode which recognizes all realities as primarily symbolic or metaphorical (p. x).

The mytho-poetic perspective places primary importance on recognizing and understanding the images which populate and animate consciousness. These images represent gateways to the unconscious. The self is understood and experienced as inner entities which seem to have a life of their own, such as "intentions, behaviors, voices, feelings, that I do not control with my will or cannot connect with my reason" Hillman, 1975, p. 2). There is an aspect of my self that is ambitious, wants to achieve, be famous and respected by my peers. This is the keynote speaker, the well -known author who monitors his book sales almost daily. There is another aspect of myself which is troubled with this person, finds him ego-centric, self-centered, and not terribly sensitive. This is the monk, the one who wants to go about his work quietly and thoughtfully, living simply and close to the earth. These are examples of the "selves" that call my psyche home.

The Image as Soul's Messenger

These age-less, universal voices take form and substance through images, which manifest deep and profound feelings and emotions about who we are and how we feel about our life experiences. In seeking to understanding emotions within his own life, Jung described the close relationship between image and emotion: "I learned how helpful it can be...to find the particular images which lies behind emotions" (Chodorow, 1997, p. 26). In rev-visioning a way of knowing through imagination, Hillman (1975) stresses the need to grasp the archetypal significance that is carried in the depth of our words. Images are ways through which individuals and collectives potentially come to express and connect with this deeper reality. Images are "angels" or message-bearers of the soul and, consequently, represent the depth of our experiences. Soul is not merely manifest in one's inner images but also in shared ideas within the world as well (Hillman, 1975; Sardello, 1992). They are reflected in big words or concepts, such as Truth, Power, Justice, and Love. These are ideas that animate not just individuals but groups of people and even whole populations. When we speak of soul within an organization, it is likely that we are participating in or at least observing the manifestation of one or more of these big ideas. The power of these ideas rests not with their intellectual heritage alone but with their capacity to activate the imagination, to invite persons to engage in imaginative ways with themselves and their context. They connect us both with deep aspects of our inner life and with enduring qualities of life as a member of a community.

Charged images often represent complexes, in which we encounter psychic energy that is clustered around certain concerns or issues that usually reflect various aspects of our relationships with others. Common examples include the authority, inferiority, mother, father, and ego complexes. When these complexes manifest themselves in the form of images, they carry with them an imperative quality - we are compelled, drawn into, and taken over by them. It is as if, for that moment, consciousness emanates from another place within us, other than one's ego. Bursts of insight, intuition, and the "eureka" experience, as well as strong moments of anger and sadness illustrate how these images serve as conduits or messengers for deeper entities within the human and collective psyche. Working with images draws us down into ourselves but, paradoxically, also out into the world. This idea of soul as bridging inner experiences with aspects of our outer worlds is a key idea to understanding how this imaginal world is manifest within transformation.

Working with the Image in Adult Learning

So what does all of this then have to do with fostering self-knowledge within adult learning? How do multiple selves, big ideas, and soul relate to education-for-work programs, informal learning, or other adult education activities? The notion of soul is predicated on the assumption that, in and through a study of text, we connect with and express in a fundamental way who we are as persons and as a society. When approached through soul, adult learning puts us in touch with the archetypal nature of our being. By becoming aware of the inner forces which populate our psyche, by participating with them in a more conscious manner, we are less likely to be unwillingly buffeted around by their presence in our lives. When we enter in a conscious dialogue with them, we create the opportunity for deeper meaning and more satisfying relationships with our world. The basis for this active engagement and dialogue is imagination. In working with the imagination, it is important to differentiate images as constructions of our conscious, cognitive egos, and images which arrive as angels or message-bearers from the psyche. It is the latter which is the focus of learning through soul. From the mytho-poetic perspective, images and fantasies which flow from the work of the imagination are not under the willful control of the ego. They are not cognitive constructions which we work to create. Rather, they arrive as they so choose, as acts of grace, relatively independent of the needs and desires of the ego. Like Marley's ghosts in *A Christmas Carol*, these images beckon us to vistas and realms of meaning not open to ordinary, waking, ego-based consciousness. It was no accident that these ghosts appeared to Scrooge in the middle of the night, during sleep.

The imaginal method is critical in recognizing, naming, and understanding the meaning of images concealed within our deep, often emotional experiences of the text (Hillman, 1975), but we do not create the images or their meanings through these methods. Our soul work - our learning - is to recognize, elaborate, and differentiate them as a means of developing a deeper understanding of our experience in the context of adult learning. Strong emotions and deep feelings arising within some aspect of adult learning suggest engagement with soul. These emotions and images may arise in association with the "text" or the content or skill being learned, or within relationships with others within one's workplace or learning setting. The purpose of the imaginal method or soulwork is not to analyze and dissect these emotions and feelings but to imaginatively elaborate their meaning in one's life. In contrast to Mezirow's (1991) notion of transformative learning, in which we are encouraged to ask "how" or "why" questions about these feelings and emotions, we might simply ask "what:" What do these emotions feel like, remind me of? What other times I have felt this way, experienced these emotions? What was going on then? Who was all involved in that incident? As we elaborate these feelings and emotions, they may begin to take on the form of images. As we recognize, name, and work with the images which animate these aspects of our life, we move toward a deeper, more conscious connection with these aspects of our selves. We befriend that person or persons within our psyche. Here we are talking about the transformation of ordinary existence into the "stuff of soul" (Moore, 1992, p. 205), where there is a meaningful connection through imagination between the text and our life experiences. These images provide access to the psyche, an invitation to the journey of the soul, of coming to know myself as a person. As they take shape within my consciousness, they can deepen my understanding of their meaning, to glimpse the soul through image (Moore, 1989).

Conclusion

In the mytho-poetic view of transformative learning, the aim is not necessarily to develop or to grow towards wholeness, in a humanistic sense. These are objectives of a more spirited, heroic consciousness. Rather, the aim of transformative learning, as I am developing it here, is to deepen our self-understanding by recognizing and elaborating the different and sometimes contradictory essences that have set up housekeeping within our psyches and to learn to live with the tension that is created by recognizing and accepting their presence in our lives. This sort of learning encourages us to embrace the contradictory and paradoxical nature of our lives. Understanding imagination as the source of all psychic life, including reason and rationality, has profound implications for how we think about, design, and implement all forms of adult learning. A few scholars are beginning to suggest how imagination and the mytho-poetic perspective can be reflected in our teaching and learning. Common to these various approaches is a reliance on "seeing" through the "eyes" of the imagination, of the heart, as opposed to the mind or the head, the merely rational. They suggests that such learning should also be a journey of the soul and imagination as a way in which the truth of the journey reveals itself in our lives.

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Adult Education as Building Community: The Parameters and Realities of Enterprise Identity in North America (1945-70)

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Abstract. This paper takes up aspects of building community in North American adult education (1945-70). It looks at adult education's efforts to build community in itself and explores the degree to which the enterprise built community in education and society.

Introduction

In my historical work investigating the emergence of North American adult education (1945-70) I argue that, despite widespread social and cultural change forces permeating life, learning and work after World War II, scientific, technological and economic change forces were ascendant, predominantly shaping mainstream adult education as a techno-scientized enterprise. In this paper I consider how the demand for different forms of adult education, coupled with the impact of the discourse of democracy that developed in reaction to the fear and mystique of totalitarianism, shaped the answer to the question "What is adult education (1945-70)?" I look at adult education's efforts to build community during this time of enterprise expansion. I take up three questions to explore the notion of adult education as a community in itself and as a community within other sociocultural communities: What sort of community did adult education comprise? If we imagine the broader discipline of education as a community, then what space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) did adult education have in it from the perspectives of those involved in public and higher education? If we envision postwar North American society as a community, then what space and place did adult education have in the larger scheme of things? As part of this investigation, I use a critical postmodern perspective to consider how lifelong learning had become an expression of adult education's hope for the future and how instrumental, social and cultural forms of adult education vied for space and place in an increasingly techno-scientized mainstream practice. I conclude my paper by reflecting on issues and problems in postwar community development pertinent to the construction of community in adult education.

The Discourse of Democracy and the Drive to Techno-scientize Adult Education

In the era of modern practice the answer to the question "What is adult education?" has been inextricably linked to adult education's search for space and place in North America's dominant culture and its institutions. After World War II, the response was shaped by a multiplicity of social and cultural change forces reconfiguring everyday life in postindustrial society. This society spawned a burgeoning knowledge and service economy and ushered in an era of pervasive government involvement that deeply affected education as a sociocultural enterprise. In the 1960s Canadian and US federal governments, treading water in a sea of social unrest, poured moneys into education as part of a makeshift solution to address poverty, undereducation and unemployment. Mainstream adult education became a vehicle serving dominant cultural interests in this period in at least two key ways: (a) It acted as a cultural messenger preaching the discourse of democracy to ordinary citizens, and (b) it delivered instrumental forms of education that prepared the citizen workers needed to advance North American techno-scientific and economic interests. In effect, adult education provided programs whose design and longevity were generally determined by government and other institutions with vested interests in using the enterprise to support the local and growing global primacy of North America's dominant culture and its values. Understanding the North American system of enterprise and government was grouped with technical competence, community development and adjustment, and personal growth and development when listing key concerns of adult education in the emerging postindustrial society (Butz, 1958).

The Parameters of Building Community within Adult Education

In the early 1960s Alan M. Thomas (1961) claimed that adult educators had taken the enterprise "from an idealistic, determined, intermittent, fringe enterprise to a central, practical, everyday - *if little understood* [italics added] - concern of many individuals and organizations" (p. 405). What were the parameters of this "little understood" entity as it emerged in postindustrial society? Can adult education (1945-70) be constructed and defined as a community in itself? Were there common goals and objectives, a common ideology, a common knowledge base, and a distinct membership? To some degree, a community was emerging exhibiting these common elements. The efforts of adult educators to build community were exemplified by the postwar growth and development of graduate adult education, the increasing professionalization of the field, the promotion of lifelong learning, and the development of a growing body of knowledge and research specific to adult education (Liveright, 1968). The preoccupation with change also provided a rallying point for adult educators in the postwar decades. Period literature is replete with references to rapid-change culture and social change forces complicating the lives of citizen workers and learners, and exacerbating the plight of Blacks, the poor and other forgotten people. The social and the economic became interwoven concerns for adult educators called upon to muster resources to assist adult learners faced with technological change, worker obsolescence, complex domestic problems, and civic and political unrest (Liveright, 1968). The need for a concerted community effort, for a focus on the social, was clear. However, the ability of adult education to deliver convincingly on a social level-indeed on any level-remained questionable. Descriptions by key adult educators including A. A. Liveright (1968) suggested that the task to build a learning community addressing social and other concerns was still an onerous one. In his 1965-66 field study he reported that adult education was working to meet diverse needs, but it did so "on an unplanned, disorganized, and uneven basis" (p. 1). He listed these roadblocks to building community: (a) the lack of financial support, (b) the lack of trained personnel, (c) the lack of space and place in institutions, (d) the lack of leadership and direction in a rapidly expanding field, and (e) the lack of societal commitment to adult education. Paul H. Sheats, Clarence D. Jayne, and Ralph B. Spence (1953) listed other roadblocks: (a) the lack of agreed-upon ethical principles to guide the emergence of the enterprise, (b) the lack of adequately trained adult educators and the absence of professional standards of behavior, and (c) the general failure to monitor and evaluate the extent to which goals and objectives had been accomplished in the enterprise.

These roadblocks hooked into the larger issue of enterprise fragmentation that worked against building community in adult education. Institutionalization was a key determinant in this regard. While field history showed the persistence of the concept of "adult education" (Verner, 1964a), adult education usually remained a secondary and not clearly defined activity in many institutions (Liveright, 1968). In his history of US adult education, Malcolm S. Knowles (1962/1977), suggesting that the enterprise had never been a united movement or common endeavor, called adult education "a patternless mosaic of unrelated activities" (p. viii). In many respects this "patternless mosaic" was a product of the institutionalization of adult education. Institutionalization meant that adult educators had different allegiances and responsibilities. This contributed to the enterprise's diffuse nature, making it difficult to coordinate the field. It complicated building community in the Deweyian (1916/1944) sense of sharing things in common. The problems of a diffuse nature were compounded by the problems of the episodic nature of the enterprise's growth and development. Roger W. Axford (1969) described adult education as a fragmented and sporadic venture that responded to specific needs as they arose. Liveright (1968) related that the diffuse and episodic nature of adult education had made it difficult to create a national umbrella organization that would represent the entire field and create a strong public image for the enterprise. This nature also stood in the way of generating a widely accepted enterprise definition. It was often difficult to name something "adult education." Naming - the clear delineation of particular institutions and programs as adult educational - was an important part of building community and countering the enterprise's peripheral educational status (Liveright, 1968). It was necessary to clarify adult education's identity and demonstrate its pervasiveness as a community in North American culture.

The pronounced drive to professionalize adult education after World War II can also be understood as an attempt to build community, albeit within particular purposes and parameters that would redesign the field. Since professional adult educators wanted the enterprise to have space and place in the emerging postindustrial society, they promoted techno-scientization of the field and developed programs to produce the workers needed to advance the national and global interests of the dominant culture. Professional adult educators built community as the cult of the expert. They incorporated knowledge, practices and a disposition designed to locate adult education not merely as a subset of the dominant culture but as one of its most valuable commodities. However, building this professional community was a very difficult task. The field lacked the rudiments of a professionalized practice (Thomas, 1958). Despite this problem, professionalism gained ground, with some adult educators seeing professionalization as a counter force to institutionalization. William S. Griffith (1970) felt that professionalization of the enterprise could help break down the barriers to growth and development that the institutions themselves presented. He believed that a professionally prepared adult educator would be more inclined to think in terms of the totality of the field. Speaking to the issue of field fragmentation in the United States, he contended that professionalism could induce a spirit of cooperation and lead to the development of a national agenda for adult education.

Adult Education's Space and Place in the Field of Education and in North American Society

Adult education's rejection of the formal structure of public education as too narrowly focused on the education of children and youth is a repeated theme in postwar field literature. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) conclude "the general momentum [in the era of modern practice] seems to have been toward separatism, toward dissociation from the broader field of education" (p. 230). Adult education's incongruity with the culture of academe can also be mentioned as problematic to adult education's space and place in the field of education. The enterprise's attempt to build community within the university was influenced by the changing nature of the university as well as by the federal incursion into higher education. The increasing emphasis on organized, techno-scientific research deeply changed academe, accelerating professionalization of academics and diminishing the value of their educational role (Kerr, 1995; Touraine, 1974). Adult education sought space and place in this complex, fluid community where professionalism meant valuing research over education. This placed adult education at a disadvantage because the enterprise had traditionally been more about practice than research, and it could not boast a significant research base. To have space and place, adult education appeared reduced to intensifying its operations in the realm of the techno-scientific. Here training in techniques became training in the ideology, values and interests of the dominant culture (Miliband, 1974). However, despite its efforts to conform to the values of the university, adult education remained the "stepchild of the [North] American university" (Riesman, 1981, p. 113).

Adult education also had a lesser space and place in North American society. In their 1953 report on the status of US adult education, Sheats, Jayne and Spence indicated that adult education had not established a valued cultural presence despite a discernable cultural impact. Some years later, the public relations report for the 1969 Galaxy Conference of US Adult Education Organizations indicated that there had been little change in the enterprise's cultural status. Adult education was not viewed as a pervasive and proactive cultural force. It had an image as a middle-class venture and the enterprise was viewed as a commodity least useful to those who could benefit most from using it. Adult education was still not available (relevant and affordable) to every citizen (Liveright, 1968). Liveright (1968) called for "new institutional forms providing flexibility, visibility, relevance, and accessibility ... [to] be developed to overcome past aversions, reluctance, and opposition to continuing education" (p. 16). His call supported David B. Rauch's (1969) contention that the enterprise remained the least developed part of the North American educational system.

Lifelong Learning and Field Directions

From a critical postmodern perspective, hope is viewed as a precondition for action within a pedagogy of adult learning community. As the modern practice of adult education emerged after World War II, the enterprise's hope for the future found expression in the discourse of lifelong learning. In its postwar form, Stubblefield and Keane (1989) contend that lifelong learning "reflected an attempt to make adult education an object of public policy" (p. 35). In adult education the discourse of lifelong learning became intermeshed with the discourse of democracy. Sheats, Jayne, and Spence (1953) declared, "Lifelong learning becomes essential for the survival of the American system of government. The vitality of that system depends upon the quantity and quality of participation in what we call community life" (p. 486). From this perspective, it appeared that lifelong learning was meant to shape community life in dominant cultural terms. Its discourse putting productivity and politics before people became a real concern to those adult educators working to develop an inclusionary enterprise addressing instrumental, social and cultural concerns. Alexander N. Charters (1970) was among those sounding a discordant note in the hymn to lifelong learning. Acknowledging that "this concept has often been stated by adult educators as a belief and with the vehemence of a fact" (p. 488), he spoke to the reality of lifelong learning beyond such internal devotion. If there was a wider interest in lifelong learning, it was affected by a slow-changing cultural disposition valuing adult education as a cultural commodity.

Forms of Adult Education in the Post-World War II Enterprise

Instrumental, social and cultural forms of adult education are all valued in a critical postmodern pedagogy of adult learning community. Giving space and place to them is considered critical to building an inclusionary practice. While there is evidence of all three educational forms in postwar mainstream practice, their co-presence failed to support inclusion education when they were reduced to advancing dominant cultural interests and values. During the emergence of North American adult education (1945-70), instrumental forms figured prominently in the design of adult education. The instrumentalization of modern practice was an important part of adult education's attempt to gain space and place. This dynamic deterred the building of an encompassing adult education community. Building community was reduced to a subscription to the tenets of techno-scientization. The enterprise joined the service of the credential society and often resorted to continuing education of the "'gimmick' variety" (Thompson, 1971, p. 18). Some mainstream forms of social and cultural adult education were also caught up in the advancement of dominant cultural interests and the discourse of democracy supporting those interests. This is evident, for example, in the publication of adult education principles by the Committee on Social Philosophy of the AEA in 1952. This committee took the position that adult education should mirror the ideology and aims of US cultural democracy and guide action promoting social change deemed important to the advancement of American society (Brookfield, 1987). This pronouncement belied the fact that the discourse of democracy forgot whole groups of US citizens. Many forgotten people outside the domain of White middle-class America were not included in the techno-scientific learning circle that supported the status quo. In effect, the discourse of democracy advanced an exclusionary practice where citizen learners were encouraged to work within the system to enhance their technical competencies and its technological advancement.

Lessons in Building Community from Post-World War II Community Development

Adult education's turn to community development as a way to vitalize and focus its own efforts in postwar North America highlights issues and concerns in the construction of adult education as community. In his consideration of community organization for adult education, Glen Burch (1948) saw enterprise community as a loose configuration. He pointed out certain advantages to the diverse and diffuse nature of adult education: (a) It contributed to the vast growth of the movement, and (b) it built a field marked by flexibility, variety and experimentation in terms of subject areas and adult-learner interest groups. While these advantages raise questions about the degree to which adult educators should seek commonality in the enterprise, Burch also listed disadvantages that indicated a requirement for at least some sort of unifying structure and common ground. His list included: (a) The diverse and diffuse nature of adult education mitigated against cooperative planning and action; (b) It kept many adult learning activities marginal to the main work of community organizations; (c) It meant that the enterprise served only part of a community's adults, making participation in adult education an issue; and (d) It made it difficult to balance adult education resources against community needs. Burch's disadvantages point to problems that the enterprise has historically encountered in building community. They help us to understand why adult education and its community have been indeterminate cultural constructions.

Such analysis of adult education's venture into community development speaks to the importance of focusing on the "big picture." Harry O. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet (1941) believed in surveying the overall community situation before moving to planning and action. They spoke to the value of investigating the history, culture, needs, resources and constituting forces of a community. They saw each community as whole and different from other communities. This big-picture approach is useful to adult educators working to set parameters, explore possibilities and determine limits as they construct community. It requires analysis of the degree to which adult education's identity is caught up in the identities of other communities. Adult educators need to investigate how different communities affect adult education's supports and resources as well as its priorities, participation and performativity. These lessons in community development point to the intricacies of building community. In the 1945-70 period, building community in adult education proved to be a demonstration of the difficulties of finding common ground. It has been intimately connected to the quest for a recognized, fostered and valued identity in the field of education and the wider culture.

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Adult Education and the Body Politic: Radical Intervention or Palliative Care?

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Abstract: Problems of legitimation have eroded adult education's distinctiveness and sense of social purpose. Attempts are made to diagnose the condition of adult education and determine the etiology of the crisis.

Introduction

In a world characterized by continuous, unsettling, and accelerating *change*, educational institutions are central to the processes by which states maintain hegemony, legitimate themselves, and foster capital accumulation (Torres 1994). Educational institutions enable these processes by preparing the human capital which sustains the economy while claiming 'equal opportunity for all'. Nowhere is this more visible than in adult education (Pannu 1988).

This paper will argue that the boundaries which gave adult education its distinctiveness and sense of social purpose are eroding. Voices once raised in debate and critical analysis have been subdued, resulting in a crisis of legitimation (Habermas 1975). Through North America, university adult education programs, departments, and institutions have been amalgamated or eliminated entirely. I contend that adult education is contributing to its own demise by silent acquiescence to funding reductions and state interventions.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine institutions in late capitalism, and their role in a neo-liberal system of unopposed market forces. Rather, I provide a broad overview of economic and social forces which contribute to the crisis of adult education today. By examining the condition of adult education we might determine if radical intervention can eliminate the ailment infecting it, or if we should begin preparing for its demise with palliative care. In this, I draw on Habermas's analogy of 'crisis' in the 'body politic' and the 'body individual'.

Legitimation Crisis

In taking apart advanced capitalism Habermas borrows the theory of cybernetic systems from systems theory and the medical concept of crisis. A medical crisis occurs when an organic system reaches some impasse where the various systems that make up an organism no longer integrate properly. The malfunction results either in the death of the organism or the re-establishment of homeostatic equilibrium. Analogously, advanced capitalist society is a 'system of systems'. The political system interlocks with two other systems essential to the health of advanced capitalist societies: the economic system and the socio-cultural system. The economic system comprises the set of activities and procedures by which advanced capitalist societies appropriate the products of external nature through the labour or work of individuals. In contrast, the socio-cultural system might be thought of as appropriating internal rather than external nature. It allows us to legitimize the political and economic systems. The socio-cultural system is that part of our society responsible for socializing and educating citizens; that is of performing those actions which allow citizens to cultivate their inner nature through education and cultivation of their minds. There is a direct connection here back to the Hegelian-Marxist tradition, with its particular concern with human consciousness. I will focus on the socio-cultural system over the last two decades as I view the health of adult education under advanced capitalism.

In the mid-1980's neo-liberalism began to flower, and there was a gradual withdrawal of the state from the public sphere. With this withdrawal a market ideology emerged and privatization began. This was most evident in the Reaganomics in the United states, and Thatcherism in the United Kingdom in which mergers, downsizing and privatization caused massive displacement of workers. This prompted disequilibrium among the three systems The economic system became dominant. While the recession of the early 1980's affected mainly low- or intermediate-skilled blue-collar workers, it was the intelligentsia who were affected in the late 'eighties and 'nineties—educated, experienced professionals. Concurrently, an influx of women entered the workplace to supplement, (or in some cases provide) the family income—largely in the burgeoning low-wage service sector which grew out of privatization and downsizing.

Meanwhile, in an attempt to regain control, legitimate the role of the state, and ameliorate the increasing numbers of unemployed, governments began to intervene directly in the retraining of workers. Government vouchers, which previously bought seats in community colleges for training programs, and thereby employed adult educators, were redirected to private businesses providing job-training help to the unemployed. Many of these businesses were started by inexperienced individuals with little training, to take advantage of this government initiative. In Canada, The 1985 Canadian Jobs Strategy gave priority to four defined groups: women; visible minorities; the disabled; and aboriginals. The failure of these training schemes cannot be elaborated here and will comprise another, much longer, article.

At about the same time, introduction of technology to the workplace caused further displacement of workers through de-skilling and redundancy. The restructured workplace and a developing 'knowledge-based' economy lent impetus to globalization. The company-loyalty contract protecting employers and employees was broken through downsizing, outsourcing, and re-engineering, resulting in a dramatic increase in personal and small business bankruptcies. One sector will serve as an example. By investing in technology banks were able to displace local workers by moving data-processing to less developed countries, incidentally eliminating the need for adult educators and trainers in the Canadian financial industry. Meanwhile, cost-recovery programs began to appear on university campuses. Programs for worker retraining or upgrading, once a staple of adult education, now became full-cost-recovery programs marketed through continuing education or extension service departments on university campuses. New types of certificates and diplomas began to appear which carried 'diploma credits' rather than academic credit. Commodification was underway in the academy as workers, conscious of increased credentialism in the marketplace, scrambled to obtain new workplace credentials.

During this time of upheaval, adult education should have been in the forefront of community action exposing exploitative practices; instead there was little response. Welton (1987) scolds adult educators for a "lack a coherent understanding of the social purpose of adult education … because they are fragmented along institutional lines … as professionals marketing programs and not as activists mobilizing people through dialogue" (1987 p. 29-30). Social activists contend that adult educators abdicate responsibility if they are not actively involved in changing the social and economic order. But at this time debates focused more on the legitimation of adult education within the academy, than on its role of leading community action groups "promoting goals such as peace, equity, justice, and quality of life for all" (Cunningham 1989, p. 4). Brookfield (1989) places the blame squarely on the technicist, professional discourse that constitutes modern adult education practice. He argues that "the search for academic respectability and the quest for professional identity have effectively depoliticized the field" (1989, p. 160). Cunningham (1989), despairs of the instrumental state of adult education, claiming it "has been reduced to describing the technology of adult education, in which *means* have been elaborated into *ends*" (p. 40). Collins (1991) goes further, labeling the technicist conception of adult education "the cult of efficiency … in North American adult education" (p. 2). Activists insist that adult educators cannot simply deliver a technically competent service which expresses no social view. The stasis reflects the moribund condition of adult education and raises serious questions.

Does adult education sustain the existing social and political order by reproducing labour, class, gender, race, and cultural divisions? Torres (1994) argues that it does; that in its social context, adult education acts as an organization of the state which sustains an hegemonic ideology through interactions between policy-makers, adult educators, and participants in programs. Griffin (1996) argues that politics is inevitably tied to power and its distribution in society and both the study and practice of adult education are shaped by the social, ideological, economic, and political contexts within which it has evolved. Increasingly the state interferes with or manipulates these contexts. And since 'those who pay the piper call the tune,' the state influences the determination of what provisions are made for adult education. Through the selective allocation of funds the state can influence the learning opportunities offered, so that priority is given to ideologically or socially favoured populations and purposes. This effect can be seen in the demise of community action groups and the proliferation of special interest groups focused on individual or ideological concerns. State funding, once destined for community groups, is redirected to ideological interests when the state realizes the power of these groups to attract media attention—'the voices most shrill get cash in the till'. This fragmenting of adult education's purpose by special interests, focuses attention on the individual and away from broader issues of social justice. To aggravate the injury, the state appropriates the lexicon of adult education to legitimate its political decisions. Adult education is experiencing a widespread crisis of relevance; its vocabulary is being appropriated while its prominence and authority dissipates. What can be done? Where do we begin looking for answers?

Tracing the Etiology

In this crisis of adult education, tensions emerge which are not immediately traceable to their point of origin. Let me again use Habermas's analogy of the body politic and the body individual. When someone goes to the doctor with a complaint about their blood circulation, the cause of the complaint may be found in a different system altogether. It may, for example, refer from the respiratory system. In other words, the systems that make up the human body are interdependent and homeostatic, and a crisis in one system may manifest itself in another. This disguised manifestation may be difficult to trace back to its point of origin. If we take the symptoms at face value when we begin looking for causes of the difficulties, we may look in the wrong place.

With adult education, we might begin by investigating problems relating to articulations of the relevance of adult education. The current politico-economic paradigm assumes specific relationships between education, work and the economy. These assumptions affect the funding of opportunities for adults to learn and benefit from relevant education. The definition of the boundary between the academy and the world of work is one method by which relevance is determined and hegemonic control maintained. Adult education offers no competing definitions of relevance; it simply accepts the prevailing conceptualization. It is thereby co-opted by the state and becomes vulnerable to charges of 'irrelevance' if it does not restructure its knowledge base to match the restructured workplace. In this way the "system" of adult education is interdependent with the state "system" just as the systems of the body are interdependent, and the interdependency may mask the true source of problems.

Has the 'social movement' tradition in adult education been trampled in the rush to professionalization and the tendency to think increasingly of the delivery of expert services to individuals? Holford (1995) contends that "social movements remain a peripheral concern in the adult education literature" (p.97). The shift in priorities, from a movement with broad social goals to one of meeting individual needs, pushes the field to become increasingly entrepreneurial, reducing adult educators' knowledge and skills to a product or technology bought in the marketplace by the highest bidder (Cunningham 1988, p. 134). This entry into the market engages adult educators in a competitive struggle with business for new markets and clients.

Brookfield describes adult education as a field characterized by paradigmatic plurality (1987 p. 202). This plurality can be seen as the bedrock of adult education, but it may also be one of the reasons for the apparent lack of cohesion in understanding its roles and purposes. On one hand philosophical perspectives—ranging from logical positivism to humanism and social activism—influence the academic researchers, the problems they deem worthy of investigation, and debates about the extent to which adult educators should become involved in movements for social or community change (Brookfield 1987). On the other hand, practitioners—many unconcerned with theoretical or philosophical speculation—appear to shun what Monette (1979) describes as "the value choices underlying adult education practice" (in Brookfield 1987, p. 202). Collins warns that the "obsession with methodology and technique has become so embedded in adult education practice and research that many practitioners are no longer able to recognize the way it controls and shapes adult learning activities" (1991, p. 5). These statements epitomize the situation Lindeman identified sixty years ago; that

> it seems inescapably clear that people do not know what we mean by adult education. …As adult educators we have not been clear in our own minds, and consequently the situation with respect to motivation for adult learning is one of muddled confusion. (Lindeman 1938, p. 48).

Sixty years of confusion prompts one to question the future of adult education in an increasingly globalized society. Who, and where, are the adult educators ready to take a stand on the fundamental issues of the day?

Diagnosing the problem

There can be little doubt that the traditional role of adult education in the education of citizens has given way to preparing learners for the demands of the economic system—from education for citizenship toward preparing people for occupational success. We have looked at some of the economic effects, can we return to Habermas to help diagnose adult education's shift in emphasis and purpose? Can we detect the etiology of the disease from its outward symptoms?

The first symptom is adult education's drive to professionalize and legitimate itself as a field of study within institutions of higher education. Legitimation required identifying a bounded set of knowledge it could claim as its own. Laying claim to a knowledge-base meant appropriating theories and knowledge from existing disciplines into a form that could be loosely identified as representing adult education. At the same time, the emerging field pursued legitimation through the production of a disciplinary discourse which identified research in the field of adult education as knowledge production. Finally, adult education could not be admitted to academe as a discipline; it had neither the cultural nor social capital of the well-established arts, sciences and humanities. The option was to seek legitimation as a professional field. After all, law, medicine, and theology—three of the four oldest professions—were well ensconced in the academy.

Early advocates played an important role in the development and legitimation of adult education as a field of study with respected scholars in the field appointed to editorial boards of publications to set standards and legitimate the knowledge disseminated. Articles reflected the emerging status of adult education in the academy. A recent review of literature from 1983 to 1992 (Rachal and Sargent 1995) documents the fecundity of adult educators, especially those in the larger programs, but tells us little about the rigor or content of the research published. And while Rachal and Sargent allude to the gatekeeping role or “editorial influence on a journal's content” (p. 74), and suggest the influence of publishers in which writings are accepted, they don't address what one professor has labeled the “Jossey-Bass-ification” of adult education.

So. Should editorial boards and publishers—the gatekeepers of adult education knowledge—be singled out for their contribution to the growing crisis of adult education? Possibly. But before a final diagnosis is reached another symptom requires investigating.

Consider those of us who gather at conferences to present our research to our peers, offering versions of our own constructed reality of what it means to be an adult educator on the eve of the new millennium. We are the adult education 'establishment'. What part do each of *us* play? Do we mask our responsibility by participating in the status quo? In the spirit of passengers on the Titanic, aren't we implying that nothing is wrong as long as 'the band continues to play'? Is it possible that the crisis in adult education manifesting itself today has its roots within each of *us*?

Curing the Disease?

Perhaps the cost of winning a legitimate seat at the academic table has been too great. Perhaps we have over-invested in what Ben-Porath (1980) calls “reputational capital” (cited in Griliches 1997, p. S339). In the struggle for legitimation we seem to have divorced ourselves from our tradition of adult education geared to social justice. Those of us involved in the academic pursuit of adult education have become the highly privileged. Cunningham's warning of a decade ago—that *[t]hose who "have" in society rarely see the need for change as clearly as those who "have not"* (1988 p.136)—appears to have gone unheeded. Now the social gap between the *haves* and the *have-nots* is again widening into a chasm. Perhaps it is time to return to our traditional values. Adult education is something that we ***do***, not something that we ***have***, in a neat professionalized academic package. To restore the moribund body of adult education to robust health, to re-claim its emancipatory potential, social-justice values and social goals must return to the top of the adult education agenda.

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Like Peeling an Onion: An Examination of Cultural Identity Among Adult Learners

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Abstract: This paper describes the results of a study concerning the cultural identity of adult learners in graduate programs at the University of Georgia. Employing analytic induction research design the research team, itself a culturally diverse group of graduate students and professors, analyzes focus group transcript data. The conclusion is reached that verbal statements aside, cultural identity is complex and manifested situationally. Adult educators are advised to adopt sophisticated tools to assess learner identity issues in order to challenge learners to think more critically about their assumptions and biases toward those who are culturally different.

Introduction

This study is part of a larger research project related to addressing race, class, gender and other forms of structured cultural difference into adult graduate classes. While the central purpose was to establish baseline data and to refine the research team's operating assumptions about learners' beliefs and attitudes toward cultural diversity and multicultural education, research team members actually learned a great about themselves as well as how cultural identity is manifested in classroom as well as real life situations. Participants in the study included students enrolled in adult education and vocational studies graduate level programs. The study was initiated in the context of a College-wide multicultural initiative at the university where we work and study. This report constitutes an in-depth analysis of focus group interviews with students during the 1996-97 school year. Our view is that since graduate students are both the consumers and the creators of knowledge as they matriculate through their academic programs, its important to understand the ways in which they construct their cultural identity as a marker for understanding how to plan instruction while confronting social inequalities in the classroom. The quality and nature of students' learning, especially in the context of multicultural education, is significantly influenced by the attitudes, beliefs, and understandings about race, gender, nationality, homophobia etc. they carry into the classroom (Colin and Preciphs, 1991, Tisdell, 1993). Consequently, the goal of this research was to discover how students understand and think about multicultural education as gauged by their cultural identity.

Methodology

We have conducted this research using analytic induction strategies (Robinson, 1951; Znaniecki, 1934). Husband and Foster (1987) define this strategy as a "systematic attempt to code data while also generating a framework about the data being coded" (p. 56). Our primary research emphasis was on the identification of negative cases that refuted the preliminary assumptions of the investigator as well as on the identification and analysis of cases that are confirmatory. To do this we employed a cultural identity theoretical framework, adapted from Geneva Gay's synergetic model of ethnic identity (1987), in order to assess the beliefs, values, and assumptions that learners hold about their cultural identity and how they view cultural diversity. We used this information as a way to test our own assumptions about course educational course planning. We also looked for ways to refine our assumptions until all examples were accounted for and explained (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). No analytic induction research is ever considered final. From this perspective, reality is viewed as incessant and constantly changing (Znaniecki, 1934).

According to Patton (1990) an inductive approach begins with experiences of each individual where the focus is on "full understanding of individual cases before those unique cases are combined or aggregated" (p.45). Therefore, patterns that emerged as a whole were examined following an initial analysis of individual cases.

The data were collected via focus group interviews. Six focus groups were held with from three to 12 persons in each group. The groups were diverse in terms ethnicity, gender, race, nationality, language, religion, and region of the country. The interviews lasted from an hour to an hour and half and were conducted by graduate student research assistants. Interviews were tape recorded and the data transcribed.

Analysis of the data was conducted in two rounds. An initial round of open-coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was performed to identify general categories and to gain an initial familiarity with the data. A second round of analysis was performed using a cultural identity grid (see below) to assess learner cultural identity. Inferences were made on the basis of how learners described their experiences with diversity in their lives, within the university community, and in their classrooms and programs of study.

Initial Assumptions. The research team developed the questions that were used during the focus group interviews. Those questions were based on assumptions that interact to form a framework for this study.

Exposure to culturally diverse groups enhances a multicultural perspective.
Learners believe that cultural diversity will have an impact on the quality of their lives and future careers.
Students generally hold strong views toward multicultural education.
Learners experience diversity issues within the wider university community.
Learners' attitudes about cultural diversity are manifested in classroom interactions.
Learners' attitudes about cultural diversity are manifested in life experiences.
It is important to include Learners in the process of multicultural curriculum reform.

Theoretical Framework. As the foregoing assumptions suggest, adults bring into the classroom perspectives on themselves as cultural beings and that of others who are culturally different. Recent reports from the literature suggest that classroom dynamics are affected by the preconceptions, biases, and perspectives that learners bring (Tisdell, 1993; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996, Humphrey-Brown, 1997; Guy & Milo, 1996). Cultural preconceptions that are bound up with learners cultural identity inevitably manifest themselves in classrooms and affect how learners value and treat others across the boundaries of race, gender, social class, sexual preference and so on. Our study is premised on a view of multicultural education that opens up the learning environment to examine and challenge monocultural, and therefore culturally oppressive, forms of interaction that affect the quality of the learning experience for some if not all learners. Darder (1991) argues that biculturalism should frame educational environments. She defines biculturalism as "a process wherein individuals learn to function in two distinct sociocultural environments: their primary culture, and that of the dominant mainstream culture of the society in which they live (48)."

Biculturalism is based on a philosophy of cultural democracy (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974) which says that every individual has the right to maintain a bicultural identity, that is to maintain her or his home or individual culture as well as to become competent in the mainstream culture. This view of biculturalism is related to the "double consciousness" concept of Du Bois (1902) who wrote that African Americans maintained a double consciousness by virtue of being both African and American. This double-consciousness could not be transcended but, du Bois argued, could be reconciled, given the right social circumstances. This concept of double consciousness of cultural identity is extended to other cultural groups in the concept of cultural democracy (Darder, 1991).

In order to assess learner cultural identity we developed a model of cultural identity adapted from Gay's model of synergetic ethnic identity (1987). The model is structured in three stages: pre-encounter, encounter, and post-encounter. These stages are not necessarily developmental. In fact, depending on the aspect of cultural difference under consideration, an individual may find him or herself in different stages. The model is also organized along two dimensions–aspect of diversity and value orientation to cultural difference. From an analysis of interview data we identify where in the model best fit. Our purpose is to examine how students as a whole see themselves in order to validate, modify, or reject our assumptions.

Cultural Identity Model

General structure of the model

Pre-encounter-naïve awareness of cultural difference

Encounter–struggling to understand cultural difference and to make sense of one's own identity in light of experiences with cultural differences. Characterized by conflict, struggle, and searching for answers.

Post Encounter– resolving conflicts having to do with cultural differences. Adopting an attitude of openness, tolerance, acceptance, and understanding. Behaving in ways that manifest justice and inclusion.

Dimensions of the model

Aspects of diversity, e.g., gender, difference are exhibited or addressed by the

Value orientation to diversity (naïve retrenchment, or acceptance, tolerance, learner describe his or her experiences with diversity of the learner's experience with own identified as well as ascribed cultural group?

Our research questions, then, concerned the experiences of learners relative to cultural difference and how they described those experiences. The questions we asked them had to do with their experiences in life, within the university at large, and within their classes and individual programs of study.

Assessing identity: like peeling an onion. We were struck by the fact that most participants in the study were either at the pre-encounter or encounter stage. Only in a few instances did learners manifest any degree of resolution with respect to their own cultural identity. Many participants spoke of a general acceptance, if not support for multicultural programs, but this rhetorical acceptance was belied in the way they described their actual experiences. A case in point will help to illustrate the complexity, and often ambiguity that learners, experience in dealing with their cultural identity.

We present an excerpt from Alice (not her real name). Alice is a young mother who is pursuing a master's degree in adult education. She is white and has spent almost all of her childhood overseas. Her father was a military man who traveled outside the country. Not until Alice is a young woman does she return to the United States We have selected Alice's case for discussion because it produced a great deal of discussion within our research team as to how to understand her.

> Alice:
>
> Although, you know, and they're just "I don't believe I've ever seen a black face in Alto, Georgia" and my mother-in-law, a lot of times would like to get me riled up by talking about black people...cuz she knew I couldn't stand that, I couldn't stand hearing anything about...you know, negative, and so she would get a kick out of doin' that...and now that I'm divorced, and my child doesn't see them that often, but she sees them, and I know how my mother-in-law likes to play that game...and I'm afraid she's gonna try that with my child...so I'm...I was more concerned for her... I'd... you know I'm stuck here for awhile...and I would like to take her back overseas so that she would have the benefit of growing up the way I did, just kind of...you know, without all this, this baggage...um. so, I signed her up for the East Athens dance program...I forget what it's called, and she just got a flyer from school, I didn't know what it was, and um, when she went the first time, she was the only white student n the class...and all the other little girls were African American, and that...um, I just, that's what she needed...she needed to interact, not just in the school setting, but you know, in a play setting, with a lot of different cultures, and then we also live in family housing so there's...all, her friends are like a rainbow...and that's good too, but that's my main concern that she does not pick up some of the attitudes that I was seeing in her around here...

In this passage Alice chooses to talk about her beliefs about race in the context of her daughter. Evidently, she married into a family in which her husband's mother is openly racist. Elsewhere Alice describes how she doesn't understand the emphasis that is placed by whites on race since, in the countries where she was raised, there was much less emphasis on racial difference than on other kinds of cultural differences. As a matter of fact she says that she didn't really appreciate that she was "white" until she came to live the United States. She never says that she confronted her mother-in-law (and elsewhere in the transcript we're led to believe that her mother-in-law's attitudes are typical of other members of her example-husband's family as well as her ex-husband). However, she clearly wants her daughter to be sheltered from these views and approvingly allows her daughter to enroll in a dance school which is run by an African American dance instructor and is attended by mostly African American young women.

In examining this passage, we clearly saw her struggle to combat the racist perspectives of her in-laws which she was forced to deal because of her daughter. On the other hand, she has not taken any steps to confront them. We see this as possibly intersecting with her view of herself as a woman, a southern woman at that, who is struggling to maintain family relationships in the context of clearly objectionable racist feelings. What she wants for her daughter, that is an avoidance of exposure to white racist beliefs, reflects her own values about black/white differences. But she does not bring herself to act on these beliefs in a direct way relative to her mother-in-law. What, then, are we to make of this narrative. As a diverse research team, we struggled ourselves to interpret this data. We clearly saw that she was at in the encounter stage, *with respect to race.* But was she in the post-encounter stage?

This passage and our analysis points to the complex and multi-dimensional nature of cultural identity. Elsewhere in the transcript Alice had made the general statement that she was not prejudiced against anyone. Yet as our analysis suggests, this general statement translated into action in very considered ways, depending on the issues at stake. Furthermore, our assessment is that her identity as a white person, struggling to resolve how she should handle situations with which she was uncomfortable (e.g., her mother-in-law's racist attitudes) must be understood in the context of her role as a divorced wife of a southern family living in a part of the state where very few African Americans live or work and where openly racist attitudes are manifest.

Implications and Conclusion

This presentation presents only a thumbnail sketch of the complex issues involved in understanding learners past experiences and their cultural identity. Representations by learners that they are unbiased must be taken with caution. How learners construct their identity in learning environments depends on their cultural identity but also on what's at stake in the context of that environment (Sleeter, 1990). Simplistic representations of learners as black or white, as male or female, and so on do injustice to educators who want to seriously confront race, class, or gender issues in the classroom and further create problems by reinforcing prejudicial and stereotypical thinking (Ahlquist, 1991; Ellsworth, 1989). We regard the cultural identity model as one important way to assess learners as a preliminary step to challenging them to examine the assumptions they have about themselves and about cultural different individuals.

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Cognition and Practice:
Adult Learning Situated in Everyday Activity

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Abstract: Theories and procedures used to teach adults to write often lack an understanding of the central constitutive dimensions of activity, tools, and culture in adult learning. A situated view of teaching writing is introduced.

Tools, activity, and culture are essential to adult learning, but our failure to recognize this important set of relations limits our ability to teach adults. For example, teachers of writing to adults in various contexts such as adult basic education, GED preparation, and community college developmental writing classes traditionally provide students with general guidelines and procedures for writing, sometimes in a flowchart or cookbook fashion. This approach assumes that a general set of writing "principles" applies to any writing context and that adult learners simply need to "apply" these general writing principles and procedures to their writing in order to become "expert" writers.

Bartholomae (1985) argues that writing is difficult for developmental or adult writers because they lack the "privileged language of the academic community" (p. 150). In other words, developmental writers may be "expert writers" in their own communities, but cannot be expert writers in academe because they have not had the social experience of writing in the university. Similarly, adults in adult basic education may not be able to write to the expectations of teachers or for GED exams because they have not had the social experiences that would allow them to understand the academic expectations. "Expert" writing is usually defined in GED classrooms and developmental or community college writing classrooms as a specific style of writing: presenting a thesis, providing supporting evidence for the thesis, then concluding with a restatement of the thesis. Knowledge of academic expectations concerning writing is "privileged knowledge" and gets to the heart of who has the power to shape knowledge.

The norms that shape acceptable academic writing have led to the development of instrumentally prescriptive processes for writing that highlights writing's internal cognitive dimensions but ignores the culture of classroom activity and its relationship to how writing is taught and learned. Typical models of the writing process encourage students to move in a stepwise fashion from one part of the writing process to the next. These stepwise models (e.g., Murray, 1980; Flower & Hayes, 1981) represent a decontextualized abstraction of the writing process that ignores how activity, social culture, and writing tools, such as computer word processors, allow students to construct their own processes for writing.

Rose (1980), in describing recent GED graduates who enter community college, contends that adults may be "stymied by processing rigid or inappropriate rules or inflexible or confused plans" (p. 393) for the writing process. Essentially traditional pedagogical prescriptions ignore the context of learning, activity, social culture, and the ways students write, interpret, and negotiate the texts. The problem is that the theories or models that are used to frame writing instruction tend to enforce the notion that writing is a process, not a cultural practice, and have not been examined from a situated or cultural perspective. Thus the purpose of this paper is to examine and critique various theories of teaching writing in order to note their limitations for teaching adults to write. Following that critique, we introduce a discussion of writing instruction that takes advantage of the typically ignored but vital dimension of writing as a cultural practice and close with the question of what writing instruction might look like once it is situated in the culture and activity of the writing classroom.

Models of the Writing Process

Expressive and Cognitive Views. The expressive view of the writing process stresses integrity of text, spontaneity, and originality (Faigley, 1986). Elbow (1973) urged students to "think of writing as an organic, developmental process in which you start writing at the beginning - before you know your meaning at all - and encourage your words gradually to change and evolve" (p. 15). Other models within the expressive view of the writing process involve integrating heuristics, or general probes usually as questions, into the writing process at specific times. Murray (1980) developed a process for writing consisting of five steps: collecting, focusing, ordering, developing, and clarifying. Murray suggests that writers can combine this process with other heuristics, such as freewriting, brainstorming, or mapping, and apply them to any composing problem.

With the publication of Emig's 1971 study of the composing processes of twelfth graders, teachers of writing turned to studying and comparing the actual writing processes of professional and student writers. From this research, cognitive models of writing emerged. Flower and Hayes (1981), by examining and comparing the actual processes in which novice and professional writers engaged, developed a recursive writing model based on cognitive psychology and consisting of three elements: planning, translating, and reviewing. In the first element, the planning stage, writers use their long-term memory to plan their writing. Planning involves several other smaller processes, such as generating ideas, organizing these ideas, and setting goals for writing. During the second element, writers articulate and write down the ideas generated in the planning stage. In the third element writers review and "choose to read what they have written either as a springboard to further translating or with an eye to systematically evaluating and/or revising the text" (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p. 374).

Although expressive and cognitive models for writing are described as nonlinear, each consists of suggested steps and stages which writers are encouraged to follow. The nonlinear aspects of these models come from the suggestions that the writer can move among these steps in either direction. In addition, both Murray's and Elbow's approaches to writing describe a process for writing that assumes the writer can transfer this process "spontaneously from situation to situation with relative ease" (Smagorinsky & Smith, 1992, p. 285), which suggests that they see writing *process* as separate from writing *context*. Murray's writing process steps seem to mirror the academic essay: developing a thesis, supporting it, and drawing conclusions. Flower and Hayes view planning as an "internal representation" of the ideas that students use to write, and although they discuss "task environment," they clearly do not take into account the culture of the writing classroom in which students write. The strengths of the expressive and cognitive views are that they seem to encourage teachers of writing to provide students with general guidelines and procedures for writing. Such processes are useful because they identify and provide procedures for important dimensions of the writing process, particularly for helping learners understand the norms that mark acceptable academic writing. Yet they are limited in scope because they assume that all students can simply transfer or apply the writing principles from one writing topic and situation to another. What is not addressed by either view is how the culture of the writing classroom or the tools with which students use to write, such as word processors, or the activity of writing itself may affect the writing process.

Social-Epistemic View and Talk-Write. A third perspective on the process of writing, the social-epistemic view, does take into account the social context of the writer as she or he writes. This perspective was developed, in part, when more non-traditional older and "non-white, non-upper middle class" (Tarvers, 1993, p. 26) students entered university writing programs, forcing teachers of writing to change their expectations about the kinds of writing knowledge students brought with them, such as knowing how to sustain a thesis, support arguments, or how academics in universities think and thus expect students to think and write. Drawing influence from Paulo Freire and other critical theorists, David Bartholomae, Anthony Petrosky, and Patricia Bizzell advocate a social-epistemic view of teaching writing which encourages teachers to help students understand the constraints of the discourse community by analyzing the contexts which shape their writing and the forces that govern those contexts. Faigley (1986) explains that the social-epistemic view is based on the central assumption "that human language (including writing) can be understood only from the perspective of society rather than a single individual...the focus of a social-epistemic view of writing, therefore, is not how the social situation influences the individual, but on how the individual is a constituent of culture" (p. 157). From this perspective, then, teachers of writing help students "discover the basic strategies by which they can determine and fulfill the requirements of various types of discourse" (Perelman, 1986, p. 476) or writing assignments.

A fourth model of the writing process, talk-write pedagogy (Zoellner, 1969), was first developed in the late 60's but regained attention in the early 1990s. It combines notions from both the social-epistemic and expressive views and challenges the cognivist position. That challenge arises through their view of social collaboration as the central dimension of writing: writers and readers continually interact and "talk" to make meaning about what they are writing. Zoellner advocates social collaboration among writing students in which writers and readers continuously "talk" and interact to make sense of their writing; he does not recommend a hierarchical model which students should follow for writing. Zoellner proposes, from a behaviorist stand, that teaching writing constitutes behavior modification where teachers give writers immediate responses that enable them to write to meet community expectations. For adult learners, these community situations could be ABE or GED classrooms or developmental writing classes, all places where rigid expectations determine whether students advance within their academic communities. Zoellner further contends that traditional models of writing have failed students because they demand that students internalize the rules and abstract concepts about what constitutes good writing (Walters, 1992) instead of allowing students opportunities to talk about their writing and to discover their own writing processes. The emphasis in this theory, however, is on dialogue between teacher-student, not on the social interactions among students themselves in the writing classroom and how these interactions may allow students to construct their knowledge about writing.

Although the social-epistemic perspective recognizes that social culture plays a role in shaping how adult learners write, the primary notion in this framework is that writers are shaped by the world, not that the writers in any fashion also shape the world in which they are writing. The talk-write theory recognizes social collaboration in writing as central to the continual transactions between writers and readers to make meaning. While it locates writing as constructed in the writing classroom and lacks a prescriptive "how to" approach for teaching writing, the talk-write theory ignores the tools with which writers use to write and how these tools may shape context for writing.

The expressive, cognitive, social-epistemic, and talk-write models all offer significant insights about key aspects of learning to write, but many of these models equate writing with problem-solving thinking, which in turn promotes circular reasoning and simplistic views of how students actually write. They do not take into account how the context of learning, such as the social structure of the writing classroom, or the writing tools themselves, such as computers, may affect the processes students use for writing. Missing from all traditional models of writing is how adults actually construct meaning and learn to write in the ABE, GED writing classrooms or developmental writing classroom of community colleges, technical schools, and other adult education locales. Drawing upon the field of anthropological psychology and activity theory, we argue that we need to re-conceptualize adult writing theory as a "situated activity" shaped by how writing students shape and are shaped by the social practices of interaction, the activity of writing itself, and the culturally-provided tools used in writing.

Situating Learning

Traditional cognitive psychological understandings of learning describe a conceptual process of acquiring and storing knowledge for future use (Driscoll, 1994). The expressive and cognivist models of the writing process depend upon such notions because they focus on learning a process for writing that can be mentally internalized then transported for use in any context or social situation. Situated cognition suggests that knowledge is a relationship between the individual and the social or physical situation in which he or she learns. Knowing, from a situated cognition perspective, is not just an independent internal mental process, but is fundamentally situated as a product of activity, context, and culture. Culture is a "shared way of making sense of experience, based on a shared history...these learned systems are mediated primarily though language, which is itself interpreted through culture-specific conceptual frameworks of meaning and emerge through shared experiences, so that no two individuals share in precisely the same set of meaning systems in precisely the same way" (Jacobson, 1996, p.16). Learning a culture from a situated perspective, then, means that we recognize how others may make sense of the world so that we can interact with them in ways that makes sense to them. How these interactions are negotiated through tools and activities becomes essential to understanding how cultures are learned and can shape how writing is taught to adult learners.

Missing from many studies concerning literacy and teaching writing to adults is the cultural dimension of learning. Schon (1987) describes knowledge as a continuous negotiation of meaning and dialogue in progress, further describing novice practitioners as learning in practice and in conversations around their practice. Cognitive apprenticeships in which adult learners would have opportunity to learn new cultures of practice has been advocated by Brown, Collins and Duguid (1989), Farmer, Buckmaster and LeGrand (1992) and Wilson (1993), but little research to date has been found concerning the cultural dimension writing instruction for adult learners (Hansman & Wilson, in press). Lave (1988) and Giddens (1979) argue that learners constitute and are constituted by society, or as Lave says, live in and fashion their society at the same time. Lave argues that learning cannot be understood simply as an internal, individual mental process in which the mind acquires and stores knowledge for future use in any context. Instead, human cognition is profoundly situated: learning and knowing are structured by people interacting with each other in tool-dependent environments. This approach to adult learning incorporates the mind, body, activity, and culturally-provided tools in a complex web of recursive interactions (Rogoff & Lave, 1984; Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989). Viewing learning from this perspective as socially constructed through social interactions within the writing classrooms situates writing students as actively constructing their own processes for writing.

Theories of situated cognition (Lave, 1988; Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989), which suggest fascinating accounts of how adult learners might actually learn to write, enhance the ideas suggested by the social-epistemic and talk-write views of the writing process and have profound implications for examining the process of writing in a writing classroom. The social-epistemic view of the writing process suggests that learners are constituents of a culture. But learners live in and fashion their society at the same time (Giddens, 1979; Lave, 1988). How adult learners write, then, may well depend on the context within which the learning is taking place, and, as Lave suggests, on the tools they use as they learn.

It is our view teaching writing requires us to create a "world" of writing with learners actively participating in that creation. Such writing classrooms provide opportunities for adult learners to see writing modeled and model it to each other, receive coaching both from instructors and other adult learners, and actively practice writing using the computers as tools for writing, all of which contributes to students' constructing their knowing about writing. Duin and Hansen (1994), while describing the dialogic nature of writing as being socially constructed in the computer networked writing classroom, argue that learners are not "helplessly awash in a storm of social forces" (p. 91) but contribute to and actively construct their social context, explaining further that it is "a two-way, not a one-way process" (p.91), and that computer writing classrooms allow the social construction of knowledge about writing through social interaction and action. We propose that students learn best when situating their thinking and their making of meaning in a real-world situation that promotes active participation in the learning process (Hansman & Wilson, in press). Social interaction, which allows exchange of ideas and discourse between students in writing classrooms as they read and discuss each other's writing projects, leads to socially constructing knowledge about writing.

Conclusion

So what does this mean to teachers of writing to adult learners? Viewing knowledge about writing as socially constructed through social interactions within the writing classroom situates students in the active construction of their own processes for writing. The implication for teachers of adults, then, is that modeling, coaching, and practice are the best approaches to foster learning (Cognition and Technology Group at Vanderbilt, 1990; Farmer, 1991; Schon, 1987; Wilson, 1993). The process of learning to write is a complex task that requires recognition of the context, culture, other people, and tools available to the learners. If culture is seen as a collective way of making sense of experience mediated primarily though language, which is itself interpreted through culture-specific conceptual frameworks of meaning and shared experiences, then in terms of academic writing, adult learners may not have the experiences to participate in academic cultures and understand writing conventions. Learning a culture from a situated perspective means that we recognize how others may make sense of the world so that we can interact with them in ways that makes sense to them. How these interactions are negotiated through tools and activities becomes essential to understanding how academic cultures and conventions are learned. In addition, academic cultures should be examined so that we recognize who has power to decide academic culture and conventions and how these academic conventions become privileged knowledge. Teachers of adult learners need to recognize how tools for writing and the social interactions in the writing classroom structure learning and plan curriculum which incorporates interactions of people, tools, activity and culture.

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Negotiating the Discourse of Work: Women and Welfare-to-Work Educational Programs

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Abstract . This critical qualitative study explores women=s experiences in a short-term welfare-to-work job training program. In this paper, we examine how the women=s efforts to combine schooling, work, and family life were affected by what we identified as a dominant discourse of work. The study contributes to knowledge of the ideological assumptions underlying dominant conceptions of work-related knowledge and skills, and points to the need for more critical approaches to work-related adult education.

Introduction. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 is requiring increasing numbers of low-income women receiving public assistance to participate in short-term job training, with the goal of rapidly entering the workforce and ultimately achieving self-sufficiency. Recent evaluations of early state Awelfare to work≅ programs for poor single parents suggests that short-term job training has the potential to help some participants increase earnings and reduce welfare receipts, but that poverty levels, welfare receipt, and unemployment frequently remain high among participants (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1995).

There is a pressing need for more studies that will increase our understanding of how work-related adult education programs can better assist low-income women in gaining employment that will enable them to support themselves and their families. A limitation of previous research is a focus primarily on isolated outcomes of program participation, without examining the job training experience itself. In particular, we know little about the process of learning that occurs in job training programs, the women=s beliefs and expectations about work, and other influences on women=s work-related learning, in particular the family

The purpose of this research was to investigate the learning experiences of a small group of women participating in a short-term adult education program designed to move them from welfare to work, and to examine the roles of the women=s families in learning to work. Critical educational theory provided the general theoretical framework for our study. Critical educational theory is concerned with how educational institutions, culture, and processes reflect and reproduce broader social systems such as patriarchy and capitalism. We were particularly interested in understanding women=s agency in light of these structures; i.e., how the women actively accommodated and resisted the meanings and social organization of the educational program, work, and family.

Research Design. Our theoretical perspective suggested that a critical ethnographic approach would be most appropriate as a mode of inquiry. Critical ethnographic research has been described by Quantz (1992) as an investigative approach designed to "represent the culture, the consciousness or the lived experiences of people living in assymetrical power relations" (pp. 448). The setting of our research was a sixteen week, business skills training program for women receiving Aid to Families wth Dependent Children (AFDC). Two teachers from a local technical college provided instruction for the program, which included computer skills training and basic skills education. We collected data on program practices, participant experiences and perspectives through a series of classroom observations and interviews with eight program participants and program staff. Our approach to data analysis reflected a number of elements recommended by Carspecken and Apple (1992) for critical qualitative research: normative reconstructions and identification of normative structures (the sets of unstated rules and assumptions that underlie social actions and the meaning given to those actions); description of system relationships (relationships between normative structures, social sites and social groups); and the use of system relationships as explanation for individual and group actions and norms. Our analysis connects microlevel beliefs and practices to macrolevel issues of work, education, and welfare reform in the United States.

Findings. One aspect of our findings relates to what we have come to describe as a discourse of work. Drawing on Bourdieu and Foucault=s ideas, Gee, Hull, & Lankshear (1996) describe a discourse as a set of related social practices and social identities or positions. A discourse not only shapes what actions we consider appropriate, it also affects how we define ourselves as certain kinds of people. Early in our analysis, it became apparent that certain beliefs and practices, or a discourse of work, affected how the women were expected to handle their family responsibilities in relation to their participation in school and, ultimately, in paid employment. It also became apparent that there was a discrepancy between the women=s lived experiences of connecting work, family, and school, and this discourse of work. Here we briefly illustrate three elements of this discourse: control, self-sufficiency, and Awork first.≅

Control. The discourse of work, as we have seen it manifested in public policies, the media, and in the program we studied, suggests that women must Acontrol≅ their lives such that they do not allow their family lives to interfere with meeting dominant expectations for work and school (such as performing all expected work and school tasks, being on time and avoiding absences). According to the discourse, such control is achieved primarily by good time management, appropriate decisions about jobs and when to have children, and suitable psychological attributes (e.g., self-discipline). Frequently, women=s welfare status is attributed at least in part to their individual deficiencies in these areas, such as lack of decision-making skills.

The interviews suggested that much of the women=s lives was beyond their individual control. Several aspects of their family lives were particularly problematic, including childcare, housing, and transportation. For example, childcare was sometimes simply not available, not affordable, or within a reasonable travel distance. When children got sick, childcare providers typically refused to take them. Landlords were negligient in apartment upkeep, sometimes making them dangerous for children. Mailboxes were subject to theft of welfare checks and other official mail. Cars were unreliable, and public transportation left the women with limited control over their travel schedules. Relationships with men were another area in which the women struggled with control issues. A number of the women had past experiences in which their work and home lives were controlled by husbands or boyfriends. The women also described work situations in which they had little control over their work schedules or job duties, and had little job security. T. explained: A . . . you never know what your boss gonna have you do. You might need to stay [overtime]. Anything could come up.≅ This type of situation interfered with the women=s ability to manage both work and family, since childcare providers typically would not accomodate unexpected schedule changes. Lastly, the job training program itself conflicted with the women=s control over their family and work lives. Some women were informed only a a few days in advance that they could and should attend the classes. This led to rushed arrangements for childcare and transportation, which continued to be problematic for some women well into the program. While some women found the learning environment disruptive at times, and two women were harrassed by other students, they could not choose to leave program without jeopardizing their benefits.

The women attempted to exert control in various ways over the many unpredictable variables in their lives. They devoted huge amounts of time and energy to attempts to Acontrol≅ their family lives, through trying to find reliable childcare, carefully scheduling household routines, avoiding relationships with men who might interfere with their work and school (and who for the most part were not perceived as sources of assistance in handling family responsibilities). The women tended to focus their energy and attention on their current situation because it seemed more within their control than future events. They talked about living Aone day at a time≅ and doing little advance planning because their lives were so unpredictable: AI don=t live further than the moment because I can=t guarantee what=s going to happen tomorrow.≅ Some women explained how they Aset their minds≅ to one thing and otherwise tried to control their thoughts while in class, so that family problems wouldn=t interfere with their concentration. However, such thoughts were not always controllable, as L. described: ANow if I was sitting back in that classroom I would be sitting at the computer wondering how I will get to class tomorrow and the rest of the week because my son had child care problems . . . Wondering how I am going to feed my kids. That keeps you from concentrating.≅

Reflecting the dominant discourse, the teachers observed that the women=s lives were Aout of control≅ and they needed to learn to manage their time and responsibilities more effectively. The program was intended to be Alike work,≅ with rules about attendance and appropriate behavior. However, program staff actually helped the women negotiate their family demands by Abending the rules;≅ for example, letting them bring sick children to class, come late to class without penalty, and use the office phone to handle family-related communications.

Self-Sufficiency. The dominant discourse also promotes the notion of Aself-sufficiency;≅ i.e. individuals should be able to provide economic support for themselves and their families. Self-sufficiency is equated with not relying on the government or charity for such support. According to the discourse, women have two socially acceptable means of achieving self-sufficiency, either through work (wage labor) or through marriage. A lack of self-sufficiency is equated not simply with economic dependency, but also with moral and psychological deficiencies (Fraser & Gordon, 1996). Women on welfare are often assumed to be passive, lazy, irresponsible, immature, and otherwise psychologically dependent in a highly pejorative sense.

Reflecting the values of the dominant discourse, our interviewees expressed strong desires to be economically self-sufficient. As A. stated: AI wanted training to get a decent job . . . So I can be financially stable. Not have to depend on nobody but myself.≅ They unanimously did not view men and marriage as a viable source of economic support. Their beliefs were linked to previous experiences with men who lost their jobs, left their families, and did not provide child support. As one woman stated: AThat man could be gone . . . You got to be the breadwinner.≅ Some of the women had been in relationships with men who restricted their economic independence by not allowing the women to work, dictating how they could spend their money, or squandering household money on drugs and alcohol.

Through the interviews, we found that the women who were more successful in handling the combination of family, school, and work demands were those who had cultivated supportive networks of friends and/or family who could help with childcare, transportation, and other responsibilities. A few women developed friendships in the class that led to sharing transportation and helping each other with childcare issues. Almost paradoxically, the women who had the most potential for self-sufficiency in an economic sense were those who were most dependent on other people for other kinds of support.

While they were not self-sufficent economically, the women described themselves as independent and placed considerable value on independence. L. commented AI don=t think I could have another man because of how independent I am. I am used to doing things on my own.≅ In her and other women=s comments, independence was typically linked to being a single mother and not being Adependent≅ on a man for help with managing a household or raising children. Their reliance on other family members and friends for various kinds of assistance did not seem to conflict with this sense of independence. Many of them discussed how they were trying to make their children Aas independent as they can be≅ by teaching them to do household chores and care for their siblings. A few women described themselves as possessing what might be considered Aemotional self-sufficiency.≅ For example, A. explained that her parents frequently criticized her, but AI=m doing good, so even without their support I support myself. I=m doing just fine.≅

AWork First,≅ a term being used to describe strategies for moving welfare recipients into unsubsidized employment as quickly as possible, reflects another dimension of the discourse of work. What it suggests is that occupational work, and a Protestant work ethic should be the defining features of one's life. In our study, the teachers told us that the lack of work ethic was a particular problem for the women learners in their program. M. said, for example, "I think that one of the things ... with this group is the discipline that a lot of us have for work doesn't seem to be ingrained. I mean I grew up with the German work ethic, you worked. We went to school ... with strep throat. You just do it.≅ In the same vein, K. added that some of the women "looked for excuses to stay home like they would stay home with a child when maybe they had a sniffle. Days when I would just send mine out the door and say sorry honey, suck it up and go off to school. And those people aren't going to make it in the job force unless they have someone holding their hand.≅

Our interviews suggest that the women learners in the program were expected to put work/school before all else; certainly their children and themselves. The women, however, viewed their children=s needs as their top priority and they worried constantly about asking too much of their children, neglecting their children=s needs, and taking chances with their children=s welfare. A. outlined her priorities in this way, "I am always thinking about my kids no matter where I go. They the only thing I got in the world except my mother. So I protect them. They my priority. I gotta take care of them." LS. was aware of her children=s unmet educational needs when she told about her 8-year-old daughter who Aalways asks me questions like why don't we never do this together and her teacher even mentioned to me once that she needs more one on one attention. I have to explain to them that she is not my only child and I have a busy schedule. There is a lot of things I want to do with my kids that I can't do with them because I am so busy and there is only one of me and there is four of them. I feel bad when she asks me questions like that.≅ T. recounted the chance she took with her child=s welfare when she wanted her 4-year old to be able to go on a school trip to the zoo but couldn't be there to put him on the bus herself. So, "I met this girl across the hall from me and I let her friend put him on the bus. I felt really guilty but I thought she was nice."

Besides being viewed by the women as compromising their work as parents, meeting all of the expectations of 'work first' seemed to be taking a personal toll on the women physically and emotionally. They talked about being deadly tired all the time. T. said for example, that her children were "gettin' to the age where now they beginnin' to bug me. We wanna do this. We wanna do that and I try to do the things that I can. ...but it's like I be so tired sometimes ...] I don't never want to do nothin'". LS., who worked two jobs in addition to attending the program, noted that the stress was affecting her performance in the class: "I was talking to K. and asking her why won't my typing speed go up. She said probably because you have so much going on you can't concentrate. I think that's what it is." LS. added, "Yeah, I am tired. My friend told me I should stop saying I am tired because God may take me away if he keep hearing me say I am tired so it's like I am trying to change it to exhausted. I am exhausted for real!≅ LS. didn't even feel she had time to attend church anymore: AI do go to church but lately I haven't been going, probably in the last 5 months because I am so busy. I figure I don't have to be in church to praise God. I can do that on my own."

Discussion and Implications. Our findings suggest that the discourse of work that implicitly guides adult education practice is incompatible with the way that women actually negotiate the demands of work in relation to family life. It is also incompatible with another dominant set of social beliefs, the Adiscourse of mothering≅ (Griffith & Smith, 1987) that requires mothers to give their family responsibilities priority over work or education, and in particular assigns women the primary responsibility of caring for their children=s emotional, social, and intellectual needs as well as their economic needs. Rather than perpetuating this discourse, we argue that researchers and adult educators should make this discourse explicit so that its assumptions can be challenged more openly in adult educational practice.

Based on our findings, we have identified several assumptions inherent in the discourse of work that merit critical discussion. First is the assumption that Acontrol≅ in one=s work and family lives is primarily an individual achievement and gained through the application of Arational≅ skills such as time management. Many aspects of these women=s lives would not have been within their control even with the best time management strategies. Indeed, the nature of their lives made so-called rational strategies such as advance planning seem irrational because they would have resulted in at best wasted effort, at worst unrealized hopes and even faulty actions. Control, and the viability of planning, depend on wealth, social position and power. For example, one of the the middle-class program teachers, whose life seemed more Ain control≅ than her students, was able to pay for childcare in her own home. In addition, this same teacher was able to negotiate a change in the course schedule to accomodate her childcare provisions. While such negotiation is possible in certain professional positions, it is unlikely that most women on welfare will move into jobs that will grant them such power, or an income sufficient to give them a wider range of childcare options.

We can also question the assumptions underlying the goal of Aself-sufficiency.≅ The concept of self-sufficiency is linked to the individualism pervasive in the dominant Western value system that has made Adependency≅ into a stigmatized condition (Fraser & Gordon, 1996) and rendered invisible the ways that we all are dependent on others. In case of wage labor, men typically have relied on women to perform household work so they could meet the demands of outside employment. Women who work outside the home frequently rely on childcare providers, domestic laborers, friends, relatives, and schools to handle their household responsibilities. Furthermore, wage labor itself is the product of an interdependent relationship among employers and employees. Definitions of Aself-sufficiency≅ - and its opposite, dependency - are socially typically have relied on women to perform household work so they could meet the demands of outside employment. Women who work outside the home frequently rely on childcare providers, domestic laborers, friends, relatives, and schools to handle their household responsibilities. Furthermore, wage labor itself is the product of an interdependent relationship among employers and employees. Definitions of Aself-sufficiency≅ - and its opposite, dependency - are socially constructed, and as Fraser & Gordon (1996) point out, are a product of unequal power relationships. People become dependent as a consequence of racist, sexist, and classist social structures, not by individual choice or deficiency. The women in our study struggled against this socially imposed and stigmatized definition of dependence in describing themselves. Their self-descriptions reveal how gendered power relationships are inherent in definitions of independence (i.e., in terms of how they defined themselves in opposition to the implicit notion of the housewife who is dependent on a man)

The concept of Awork first≅ with its narrow definition of work as wage labor, is most directly at odds with the discourse of mothering, that requires women to give priority to the work of the family. The women in our study struggled openly with this conflict, emotionally as well as practically in their prioritization of daily activities. The discourse of mothering also has oppressive elements, particularly the expectation that mothers should be always available to meet the needs of their families. Neither the discourses of work or of mothering acknowledge that women might have physical, emotional, or spiritual selves that deserve care and sustinence.

Our study adds to a growing body of evidence suggesting a need for adult educators to give more attention to the ideological bases of work-related adult education, for example, to the very nature and meanings of work and vocation, and the schism between work and family (Way & Rossman, 1994). Further, we argue that adult educators can make important contributions to the efforts called for by Hart (1992) and others to establish more emancipatory organizations of work and education that are reconciled with the work of the family. Such efforts would not consist of simply making it easier for women to put Awork first≅ by providing childcare, transportation, or flexible schedules. Current attempts to create Acareer ladders≅ or school-to-work programs that reinforce the traditional separation of work and family are also inadequate. Instead, as Hart (1992) suggests, we must start by reconsidering the values that underlie current conceptions of good and productive work. We must find ways to move beyond the orientation towards individualism, control and efficiency that dominates both work and work-related adult education and towards the Ahumanization≅ of work, both in the home and workplace.

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From Global Consciousness to Social Action: An Examination of Adult Education Theory

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Abstract. This paper links 1) social action theories in adult education, and 2) literature about the transition to a global consciousness, a world view emerging in the latter part of this century. Global consciousness does not emanate from a single body of literature, but exists within many disciplines.

Introduction

We are moving away from the prevalent industrial/scientific paradigm that has influenced so many of our ideas and philosophies, ways of doing business, social structures, values, and ways of living. In the process of evolving into the next major paradigm, which has yet to be assigned a name everyone agrees on, our fundamental values and concepts about the world will change. People will literally change their minds, not in the capricious way often ascribed to women, but in essential ways so that our understandings of how the world operates and our place in it may change radically.

The existing paradigm characterized by materialism, competition, and individualism is beginning to collapse due to the advent of new scientific knowledge and the overwhelming evidence of negative consequences including environmental degradation, displacement and exploitation of people, extensive pollution, and the disassociation of people from the community and the earth that sustains them. Global consciousness offers the ability to understand the connections between seemingly unrelated problems and issues such as environmental degradation, the increasing poverty and displacement of people around the world alongside increasing wealth for a few, backlash against immigration and minority rights, increasing fundamentalism, and many other ills visible today.

It is important to differentiate between the global economy and the emerging paradigm, which I have chosen to term global consciousness, because the existing economic and emerging holistic paradigms of globalism differ in their essential goals. At the heart of both the economic and holistic paradigms are different world views. The global economy as described by Hawken (1993), Korten (1995), Henderson (1996) and others refers to a way of doing business enmeshed in the receding industrial/scientific paradigm in which nature exists to be exploited, conspicuous consumption is promoted, people value their individualism over their responsibility to the community, and government and free market economies are expected to fulfill the responsibilities thus neglected. The economic paradigm 1) views people as primarily motivated by self-interest manifest in the pursuit of money, 2) perceives that what earns the most money for individuals and corporations is good for society, 3) sees competition as more sensible than cooperation, and 4) promotes ever-higher levels of consumer spending (Korten, 1995; Kresse, 1997). The result are taken for granted beliefs about the value of sustained economic growth, free markets, economic globalization, privatization, and government deregulation.

By contrast, global consciousness describes a consciousness that is more capable of accepting diversity and difference, capable of handling ambiguity, and cognizant of our interdependence and connections with humankind and the earth. What I have chosen to term global consciousness describes a consciousness that 1) is capable of developing a more inclusive world view and forming allegiances beyond the local, 2) is cognizant of the interdependence among humans and between humankind and the earth, 3) is able to cope comfortably with ambiguity, and 4) values complexity and diversity. What is required are changes in the way we think, the way we relate to the rest of the world, and way we identify with all of humanity (Capra, 1996; Daloz et al., 1996; Hill, submitted; Kegan, 1994; Lifton, 1993; Ornstein, 1991).

Purpose

If one accepts the necessity of changes in human consciousness described by these authors and others, the next question becomes what can be done to foster these changes? The authors reviewed here make it clear that our society is undergoing upheavals and schisms that learners are struggling to make sense of. Cultural commentary characterizes our time as one of transition in which conservative and progressive forces clash (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler & Tipton, 1996; Gergen, 1991; Hunter, 1991). Freire (1973) writes that the move from one epoch to another requires a flexible and critical perspective. It is inevitable that emerging values will clash with established values in the culture, but without the ability to perceive critically the cultural dialogue between old and new, people will be carried along in the wake of change.

It appears that while authors advocating changes of the human mind are quite clear about what changes need to take place, they are not nearly as clear about how it should be accomplished. Neither does the call for a more encompassing consciousness appear to be articulated clearly within the educational literature. Education is one of the ways we help societal members organize and structure their experiences. The way we teach and learn provides a source of both continuity and change since education is also the way we transform culture. If education is responsible for cultural transmission as well as transformation, then adult education can be one of the sources of changes in human consciousness.

Adult education can make a significant contribution to cultural transformation by drawing on its historical allegiance to social action and change. Cultural change only occurs if innovations gain acceptance by large numbers of people. Bohannan (1994) states that the need for new social innovations is urgent to cope with destruction of the environment and mass poverty. To succeed, large numbers of people must be sufficiently uncomfortable with old ways of behavior so that they will change their habit patterns. Cultural change is an intensely social process in which education has a critical role to play (Carter, 1992). This paper establishes the links between social action in adult education and the nurture of global consciousness

Implications for Adult Education Theory

Adult education has historically been shaped by two very different movements, one connected to social action or social change, and the other linked to personal and economic development (Merriam & Brockett, 1997). Adult education is a diverse field and answers to differing conditions worldwide, fostering literacy in third world countries or educating workers for a technological workplace in industrialized nations. Despite the field's association with a distinct social agenda when it was named as a field of practice during the 1920's, much adult education philosophy and theory has focused on the growth of the individual

Heaney (1996) points out that adult education has strayed from its concern with education for social action. He argues that "action to change and sculpt social conditions was the point--the redeeming social purpose that inspired the fledgling, newly identified field of adult education." Adult education aimed not only "to *inspire* individual learners . . . but also to enable those learners to *conspire*--to unite, melding their individual agendas in collaborative planning and social action" (p. 13, emphasis in original). Recently, much of adult education has become instrumental in nature, helping adults adapt to a changing social and economic world, and sometimes conform to the existing social order. Our understandings are impoverished by the emphasis on individualism and self-reliance.

Newman (1994) describes several ways of conceiving of the individual and advocates for decentering the individual subject. He suggests that consciousness may appear to exist independently, but argues that it is constructed through life activity that "takes place within social relations between people and in relations between people and objects of the world" (pp. 129-130). Collective action is required to influence social policy and adult education has a role to play in this effort by helping learners examine common and shared experiences, identify common meanings, and engage in the struggle to transform those meanings, thereby transforming the societies in which we live.

Learning and consciousness are intimately linked to cognition; we can foster the consciousness of interdependence, interconnectedness, cooperation, and diversity as central to our capability of survival and flourishing. The call for a global consciousness in essence entails recognition of the need for change in a common world view characterized by individualism, independence, entrepreneurial freedom, and a Protestant-capitalist work ethic resulting in prevalent competition, exploitation, and domination. McKenzie's definition of adult education is that ideally it should help adults "develop and actualize their various potentialities to the end that the learners become more liberated as individuals, better capacitated to participate in the lives of their communities and institutions, and empowered to create an authentically human future" (1991, p. 129). The lessons we teach need to foster empathy and altruism, encourage humility and generosity, and encourage taking responsibility.

Several reasons exist for linking global consciousness and the social action theories of adult education. Both are concerned with social change and with inequities in society in which certain people are deemed to have less--fewer resources, less control over the conditions of their lives, and lesser rights, in practice if not in theory, to a decent live. Often these people are members of minority groups, however that concept may be defined where they live. "Marginalized people do not enjoy sufficient opportunities to take control of their lives or to influence society as much as they would if they had decision-making powers" (Gumede, 1997). Neglect of the needs of the marginalized impoverishes all of society.

Not only does adult education have a history of involvement in social action and concern for social change, but it also has familiarity with tools to accomplish learning together. Recent ERIC publications explore group learning, collaborative learning, adult education and social action, and popular education for social change. Finger (1995) indicates that adult education has two features that facilitates its contribution to cultivating global consciousness:

> 1. Unlike conventional education and all other social sciences, adult education defines problems in terms of learning, as opposed to training, teaching, preaching, policy-making, legislating, restructuring and management.
> 2. Adult education, especially in the perspective of political empowerment, does have a past in which individual learning was perceived in relationship to collective action. (p. 117).

Two areas of practice in adult education are making significant contributions to 'learning our way out' of the global and increasingly interlinked biophysical and socio-cultural crisis:

community development and organizational learning. Finger indicates that community development has practices and models to conceptualize and address collective problems and organizational learning is developing models of social learning.

Merriam and Brockett (1997) describe several values of adult education favoring social change. Collaborative learning involves people learning together about issues of mutual concern. It is learning that is locally initiated and controlled. A different conception of knowledge production exists in adult education for social action in which the socially disenfranchised and uneducated can create legitimate knowledge. Knowledge is produced when people make sense of their world and knowledge is based on their experience as they construct tools, methods, and approaches to cope with the situations facing them. This meaning-making notion of knowledge production leads to an understanding of power imbalances in society. "Understanding the networks of power relations and the boundaries of power leads to challenging inequalities in society and ultimately seeking to change the balance of power" (p. 252). Finally, reflection and action on problems are both required. Praxis, in which reflection and action are fused, "create a dynamic process in which the learners act upon themselves and on their world, bringing about a change their own consciousness, and in the way they engage with other people, organizations, institutions and objects around them" (Newman, 1994, p. 110).

Social action requires a comprehensive understanding of the problems or issues of concern. Without global consciousness, social action may be rendered ineffective or, as Finger (1995) suggests, inappropriate. Adult educations has displayed an interest in critical thinking as evidenced by the work of Brookfield (1987) and Mezirow (1990). Brookfield indicates that critical thinking enables us to become open to alternative ways of looking at and behaving in the world. Likewise, Mezirow believes that "critical thinking involves a critique of the presuppositions on which our beliefs have been built" (p. 1). In that volume, Heaney and Horton link critical thinking and struggles for social change. Critical reflection is necessary to transformative action.

Global consciousness is concerned with widespread changes of thinking. These changes could engender changes of behavior regarding wise use of resources, more selective consumption, and a backlash against harmful and wasteful personal and wasteful business practices. It could be said that the transition to global consciousness requires a collective perspective transformation. Transformational learning is fundamentally concerned with the meaning people make of their experiences and how that meaning is changed. Rather than our understandings of reality being objective and external, they are constructed in the mind and are often rooted in the social expectations, rules, and roles taught by culture that govern the way we see, think, act, and feel. Meaning systems are structured by beliefs, theories, and psycho-structural assumptions. This is both an individual process and a collective, cultural one. While meaning schemes are a wonderful tool allowing us to structure and make sense of our perceptions, they can also be limiting by filtering and screening our experiences. They allow us to attend to and understand certain experiences while neglecting others (Clark, 1993).

We use language to create meaning. "The naming of the world is the means whereby adults find voice and begin their empowerment. The work of constructing truth is both a personal and collective responsibility, and Freire equates it to creating culture" (Clark, 1993, p. 51). When the limitations of a meaning scheme are recognized, they can be expanded, revised, or simply replaced. Transformation of meaning schemes may be an individual or social process. Mezirow and Daloz tend to focus on individual development, while in Freire's theory the goal is social change (Clark, 1993). In both cases, critical reflection is required to examine limiting or flawed assumptions incorporated in our meaning schemes allowing the development of more inclusive perspectives. Whether individual or social, consensual agreement is generally required to validate our interpretations. O'Sullivan (1997) ventures "the thesis that it is the fundamental educational task of our time to make the choice for sustainable global-planetary habitat of interdependent life forms over and against the pathos of the global competitive marketplace" (p.372).

Adult education, through community development, takes an interest in groups active in the issues of their community. Several authors point to the activities of grassroots activists as evidence of adult learning leading to social action. Welton (1993) believes the new social movements, most commonly identified as peace, feminist, ecological, and personal and local autonomy movements, are significant expressions of postmodern culture and adult education. He then traces learning that occurs within these movements and identifies four basic principles weaving these disparate movements together: ecology, social responsibility, grassroots democracy, and nonviolence. Finally, Welton speculates about whether these movements may be coalescing into a new historic movement.

Henderson (1996) devotes a chapter to grassroots globalism and states the "most creative, energetic forces addressing the planetary problems of poverty, social inequality, pollution, resource development, violence and war are grassroots citizens movements. . . .Grassroots globalism is about thinking and acting, locally and globally" (1996, p. 131). Even though participation in these movements is voluntary, recent research indicates that many involved in these movements feel morally called upon to act or that it is a duty (Daloz et al. 1996; Moore & Hill; this volume) The pragmatic solutions created by citizen movements are often innovative, and stress positive action. "Citizen organizations are a priceless resource offering new paradigms to societies stuck in old ways or trapped, as Western industrial societies are, in wasteful consumption habits and technologies that are proving unsustainable" (Henderson, 1996, p. 142).

Unless we wish to remain with the limited vision of education as an investments in human capital (Gustavsson, 1997), we must revitalize the work of adult education for social action. The authors writing about global consciousness provide ample evidence of the urgent and essential nature of the change we must make. Adult education possesses many of the tools and a historical commitment to social change. If we, as adult educators, consider ourselves committed to the lives of the people we work with, the societies we live in, the environment we are a part of, and the spirituality of the natural world, we must act

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From Motherhood to Sister-Solidarity: Home-making as a Counterdiscourse to Corporate Environmental Polluting

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Abstract. This presentation examines the conjunction between women-homemakers and contaminated spaces, both public and private. Learning for the women was embedded in concerns about motherhood and domesticity. Although the women never expressed their solidarity in terms of sisterhood or feminist language, they functioned as a cohesive group consciously aware of their marginalized status as women. But the "girls solidarity" was not the source of political action, rather it was the context for it. Domesticity and motherhood was a substantially stronger antecedent for action that enabled the women to build the notion that they could challenge power relations, values and beliefs of the dominant culture in the community.

Introduction

It is well recognized that labor is a genderized phenomenon, and that "work" performed by women in the home is undervalued. Adrienne Rich has pointed to the domestic labors that reproduce, maintain, and sustain life--the million tiny stitches, the friction of the scrubbing brush, the cleaning up of the soil and waste left behind by men and children--as the unrewarded (and socially constructed) domain of women. In a world increasingly driven by commodity capitalism--often at the expense of the environment--little value is placed on the labor of maintenance. The labor of commerce is privileged labor, engaged in by men and some upper class women who pursue profit in the market place, in the world of industry, finance, and government. As such, the health and safety of families is often fabricated as predominantly women's responsibility.

This study is one portion of a larger four year investigation (Hill, 1997) that examined how a grassroots, self-organized, action-oriented group--comprised largely of housewives--engaged in the contest for cultural authority at a heavy-metal contaminated Superfund site. Their northern Appalachian town was shaped by a corporate discourse that deflected responsibility for the pollution and allowed for both on-going and historical contamination of thousands of acres of forest lands, residential homes and yards and public spaces. In 1990, six women gathered to raise the first public voice that spoke "otherwise" to the normative (industrial) discourse in the town. Within one year they had organized a grassroots group to promote clean up; their goals included environmental reform and relief from toxic exposure.

Purpose of Study

This presentation examines person-place relationships, specifically, the conjunction between women-homemakers and contaminated spaces, both public and private. The women in the study presented themselves as caretakers of their families and guardians of healthy life-spaces. The purpose of the present study was to investigate the relationship between women's labor of maintenance (acts aimed to reproduce, maintain, and sustain life), and the politics of toxic exposure (life in a poisoned place). A goal was to examine the processes of cultural production, sense- and meaning-making, learning to transgress, opening of descriptive spaces, and the dynamics of the contest for cultural authority in the polluted community.

Theoretical Perspective

This qualitative study is shaped by the environmental work conducted at Highlander Research and Education Center which marks the exception to the silence of adult educators in regard to environmental adult education and the struggle of local communities to control the meaning of environmental hazards that they experience. It is premised on the belief that contemporary adult education should inform a society to become eco-literate, and integrate environmental issues with education for social change. Members, often largely women, of toxic-contaminated communities are engaged in resistance to the particular ends, direction and interests of dominant social groups' sense-making--especially when such meaning-making is dominated by corporate interests. Like Lewin's work (1946), this study was intended to assist people in improving their living conditions, in democratic decision-making, and in the commitment to a more equitable distribution of power.

Research Design

The reviewed literature included adult education and citizen (environmental) activism, and the sociology of education. I was interested in employing a methodology that provided rich, descriptive data about contexts, activities, and beliefs of the participants. Depth interviews (deliberate sampling) within an interpretive framework, as a part of critical ethnographic methodologies, were deemed appropriate for this purpose (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). A key aspect of the research was to continually return to the participants "with the tentative results, and [to refine] them in light of the subject's reactions" (Reason & Rowan, 1981, p. 248)--a process known as "member checks." A collaborative approach was employed in an effort to empower the researched, and to ascertain credible data, validly collected and analyzed. Friere's "problem-posing" framework (Freire & Faundez, 1989) was used as a reference for data analysis. The responses of six key informants are reported here, with additional corroborative voices of women members of the grassroots anti-toxics group.

Findings and Discussion

The women reported that from private locations (kitchens and other domestic sites) and borrowed public spaces (such as the public swimming pool), they engaged in a process of transformation from isolated individuals to collective agents contesting the community script by simply "telling our stories" and "asking menacing questions." Learning for the women--organic intellectuals in the community--was most often embedded in concerns about motherhood and domesticity which became "generative themes" for community development and community education. Asking menacing questions--initially an unconscious pedagogical activity--brought about "problem-posing dialogue" for critical learning. The women's questions probed social behaviors and experiences in everyday life in a way that allowed critical-democratic dialogue to materialize; isolated home-makers became civic leaders.

Although the women never expressed their solidarity in terms of sisterhood or feminist language, they functioned as a cohesive group consciously aware of their marginalized status as women. Yet, they constructed a space where hope was possible. One respondent put it this way, "the women envisioned the future." This women-vision included environmental reform which resulted in protective environmental policies and regulations as well as agency enforcement of existing laws. Their women-vision desired an industry that operated safely and a landscape--both constructed (lawns, play areas, streets and homes) as well as natural (the mountain, valley, and neighboring creek) that was free from contamination. Talking about this vision, another informant spoke that the emergence of the women placed the community at a "crossroads, because it was the first time that there was an organized effort to question the industry and the officials...in [this town]. And that basically...was the turning point....It wasn't just one speaking--it was organized."

For some, the grassroots group was an important women-space where identities could be reconstructed and personal feelings expressed in a secure climate. The women freely referred to the group as "the girls." One of the women reported that her involvement was both a transient estrangement on her relationship with her husband, as well as an opportunity to exercise independence and freedom from assuming his identity. She spoke that her "husband was aghast [when I talked publicly]. [He saw it as] terrible, [saying], 'Did you really think this through?' and 'I'm not sure I want you to do that. You should have talked with me first and I would have told you how to handle it,' sort of things--the control issue. [He indirectly was saying], 'You're doing something and I'm not controlling you,' and 'it looks bad on me.'" By assuming the role of leadership, she opened up new areas for both personal growth and for a fuller development of her married life. She reported that leadership in the group resulted in a renewed commitment to dialog with her husband to "work things out." However, she emphasized that she remained firm in her dedication to the other women and the goals of the group.

For another interviewee, the group was a welcomed opportunity, as well as painful one, to become involved in what was happening. Taking up a defiant voice was distressing for her in that it moved her out of her "comfort zone." However, it was a desirable chance to do what she always enjoyed most--"reading, and researching and meeting with people." She disdained what she characterized as, "from a women's perspective, [sitting] all day long and watch[ing] the [TV] 'soaps'...and talk shows [like so many women in the town do]."

One individual remarked that in the early stages of involvement in environmental issues in the community her marriage was affected, saying "it's difficult when you're going to one or two meetings a week and it's time away from your children...but now that I'm sitting past the emotional upheavals that I've experienced, it all seems, oh, so wonderful [knowing I'm doing what's right]."

After one group meeting, during which I presented some of my preliminary research results, a founding leader said as she was donning her winter coat, "Amazing! I *am* (her emphasis) important! I'm going home and tell [husband's name] that I'm not just a housewife cleaning toilets and scrubbing floors--I'm important!" At times the women even impressed themselves with what they accomplished. One marveled, "it's amazing [that] six women can get around the entire town [when they had to distribute fliers]." Such increased self-perception within women who participate in adult education has been noted elsewhere (Luttrell, 1989, p. 34). Changes in a "sense of self" accompany transformation of a meaning perspective (Mezirow, 1991, p. 167).

One woman, not a founding principal of the group, told me that she seldom consciously thought about being a women or about being from the town until "[the group] formed and I saw the stand some of these women took...over great protest locally by a lot of industry supporters--[despite] personal attacks, [I] realized how proud I was to be not just a woman, but a woman from [here]! That's a real proud thing to be....I think these gals, who didn't expect to be in that kind of limelight--to stand up and make a statement, just made me really proud to be affiliated with them." But sisterhood and the "girls solidarity" were not the source of political action, rather they were the context for it. Domesticity was a substantially stronger antecedent for action that enabled the women to build the notion that they could challenge power relations, values and beliefs of the dominant culture in the community.

During a conversation in one of the feedback sessions with which she was involved, a respondent suggested I had mischaracterized her motivation to become involved in social change. She reminded me that she did not set out "to raise a defiant voice"--a behavioral portrait I had painted of her and other group members. Any transgressive acts by her were secondary to the real purpose of involvement, which was the protection of her (and all of the community's) children. She was primarily concerned with family safety, not conduct resistant to hegemonic discourses. Opening a narrative space for the articulation of new knowledges was a motivating factor. She said that she entered into what amounted to defiant behavior very subtly, "it wasn't even a conscious effort, like when I read your piece about transgression--[my involvement] had nothing even to do with that. It was just my kids. I'm raising my kids here [and] we're bringing hazardous waste in, we need to make a change--we need to do it right. Especially because in the back of my mind I knew about the Superfund issue." Another women reported that engaging in transgressive behavior was not a primary motivation. She said, "I don't think there were any thoughts about rebellion or going against the company....It was strictly me doing something for my family, for my property and for my neighbors, and I think that's all it was." The "doing something" meant learning to construct, and then articulate knowledges alternative to the industrial discourse.

Although "coping" with stress is a complex phenomenon, gender-related characteristics have been described (Hobfoll, et al., 1994). Researchers have found that women are more likely than men to approach community stress through pro-social behavior, and "active" (assertive) coping strategies, rather than anti-social and aggressive ones. They frequently seek social support as well as offer it to others. Women have been found to customarily use emotion-focused and problem-focused social strategies. Examples from the women's experiences show how they related family (emotion-centered) concerns to problem solving.

All informants were attentive to the fact that they were marked as "different" by many members of the community; they were genderized in a demeaning way. One respondent saw that the difference was rooted in inferior notions of women who work at home. She said, "at first the industry would mock us saying we were radical and hysterical housewives. There was nothing hysterical in me!" Another spoke of the Othering which she and fellow members experienced, "the industry people--and a lot of people--try to make [us] into fanatical, crazy housewives who don't have anything better to do than test our porch dust [for contamination]." One said she felt the impacts of being marked as deviant: "Talk about being patted on the head. They kept using the word 'housecleaning' and stuff like that, it's just like housecleaning problems we're having down there, ladies, you know." They treated her with the attitude, "go home and bake something...go bake some cookies or something." Environmental consciousness became a sexually coded word linking women with an anti-industrial discourse.

Although not directly articulated, most of the women in the group agreed that their concerns originated in domesticity, that is, making and keeping the domestic sphere a protected and salubrious place in which to live. The emerging citizens group's center of gravity was the home and hearth. Their lives consisted of domocentric patterns; the home, therefore, became the arena in which they were conscientisized to contamination.

The women frequently used the term, "clean up" in our conversations. They extended the concept from personal homes to the local milieu since for them the home was a part of the social and cultural surroundings. Once when asked by one of her children, "Mom, where ya goin'?" a member responded, "[To a] meeting! I'm gonna clean this town up yet!" Every respondent offered comments on the dirt that was a daily occurrence in their lives, and the daily cleansing rituals with which they had to contend. Ablutions were a fact of life. One said, "You live here, you cleaned and you cleaned black dirt and you didn't much question what was in it."

Car washing rituals were also mentioned by numerous respondents. One gave a litany of ablutions that she would perform, saying, "[I would] wash the car twice a week, wash the porch three times a week, [and] wipe the window sills." Another claimed, "You could wipe your window sills off with a tissue every other day and the tissue would be black. Every other day!" She even considered at one point, "putting the tissues in a plastic bag, putting them in an envelop and mailing [the dirty tissues to opponents]".

One of the more powerful forces shaping the group's attitudes and beliefs were children. The role of "traditional" motherhood was the significant antecedent to political action. The grassroots members who were mothers often expressed that they were insulted when the quality and integrity of their motherhood was called into question. One reported that the community discourse on health was related to children care. If there was something wrong with a child, popular wisdom, based on information provided by the official makers of knowledge, was "You have to change [the kid's] diet. He needs a multivitamin. He has poor hygiene." "What's the doctor doing?" she asked rhetorically. She answered that most of the town's folk would not look for metal exposure, but instead would suggest to "straighten out his diet, give him a multivitamin and clean his hands a little bit more and he'll get better."

Domesticity moved beyond private attempts to have a safe home and hearth. In a seeming challenge to home makers to chase more dirt, an industry-funded community group purchased a special vacuum sweeper and unique soaps which they loaned to residents for domestic dust control. In 1992, the town received $18,000 to purchase a new street sweeper to suck up dust and dirt from the roads. Vacuuming was elevated to an art form in 1996 when the federal government began to utilize a specially designed vacuum cleaner mounted on the back of a truck to vacuum boulders on the landscape. Vacuuming rocks became the quintessential obsession with cleanliness; the federal government assumed the image of new handmaids in white decontamination suits tidying up the natural environment.

The relationship between domesticity and environmentalism was voiced by one woman while reflecting on the talks she would give at public meetings at the beginning of their public struggle, "basically I just made the plea for everybody to start being an environmentalist in their own homes!"

The women were engaged in a transformative process to ensure that their town, a community-at-risk, would become a community-at-promise; caring, hope and possibility were its central moments. The theme of hope, faith in ordinary people, a sense of personal and community pride, and courage repeatedly emerged in the interviews with group members. Ethics saturated their rationale for: assigning responsibility to the industry, taking up a practice of caring, a pedagogy of hope, feelings of pride and courage, and for mobilizing the desire for a bright future.

Radical democratic processes in the group were a microcosm that deviated from the processes that occurred in the larger public sphere--a sphere where there exists a fundamental gap between constitutional, legal, and regulatory commitments to a clean environment and the harsh realities of people's lives. Environmental reform for the women consisted of rewriting the boundaries of environmental discourse from the vision of an industrial ethic to that of a human-centered one; from one premised on singular and narrowly prescribed notions, to one based on a diversity of information; from a static one rooted in education that reinforced the *status quo*, to one that flowed from the perception that there are multiple ways of seeing; and from the constricted borders of science, to one that integrated science with ethics infused with hope in an equitable future.

The women created a new place, an interrogative- and narrative-space, from which alternatives were articulated and individuals engaged in the social practice of learning; it allowed formerly unsayable utterances to have a voice; it gave shape to what could be thought in a milieu that formerly was impregnated with controlling citizens' consciousness. The working-class women became a model of civic courage which led to growing a grassroots movement that significantly changed the landscape of their contaminated community.

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Is Our History Bunk?
Adult Education's Historiography and the Notion of "Learning Society"

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Abstract. The notion of "learning society" presents a paradigm shift necessitating radical rethought of approaches to historical research in adult education. This paper re-evaluates the English-language historiography of adult education from a "learning society" perspective.

The "Learning Society": Breaking with History

"How can anyone claim to know the truth about history?", Henry Ford asked John Reed, when it "is being rewritten every year from a new point of view" (quoted Burlingame 1957: 9). The mild *frisson* of unmasking a high priest of Modernism mouthing the Post-modern creed should not distract us from the deeper significance of this Fordian view of history: To modernisers (be they Modern or Post-modern), the past is primarily impediment to change rather than source of understanding.

A key feature in contemporary "modernising" projects for Western societies and economies has been the emphasis on "lifelong learning" within a "learning society" (Holford *et al.*, in press). As policy, the modernising advocates of this "learning society" seek a break from the past, and are rapidly constructing a discourse either shorn of history, or by doing violence to the truth (Boshier, in press). At a theoretical level, too, the learning society is conceived as descriptive of a novel world. Jarvis (in press) identifies three main interpretations in contemporary literature. The learning society "as reflexive society" is based on understandings of modernity as risky and in constant flux; learning is an essential coping strategy. The learning society as market phenomenon emphasises the recent reinvention of knowledge as a "desirable" and tradeable commodity. Broadly, the learning society as policy rests within these two interpretations.

There is also a utopian interpretation: the learning society as "futuristic". This provides a foundation for educationalists' dreams, but also a yardstick against which to measure policy prescriptions. This ideal-type approach can be illuminating. Barnett (1997: 158), for example, argues that a learning society is "necessarily a critical society [with] ... developed capacities for reflexivity at the societal level"; he very explicitly uses the concept to encapsulate a theoretical and political perspective drawn largely from Habermas. While we can set up an ideal-typical "learning society" and invest it with whatever content we think fit, it is less clear that it is valuable, or even valid, to use the notion "learning society" descriptively. To assert that late modern, or post-modern, or post-industrial, societies are "learning" societies in some way which earlier societies were not begs some central questions. Did people not learn in pre-modern, or modern, societies? On what grounds can we assert that more learning takes place today than formerly? If we believe only that learning today is different (rather than quantitatively greater), on what grounds do we attach the label "learning" to society today?

The literature suggests an answer framed in terms of rapid change and unpredictability. Yet such a response raises a host of problems. It assumes, for example, a quantitative model of learning and of knowledge. It privileges certain forms of knowledge: contemporary over past; technological over spiritual, relational, or empathetic; that conducive to adaptation over that which promotes stability. Dangerously, it encourages us to attach the labels "knowledge" and "learning" only to specific forms "relevant" to survival within a late modern context.

In stressing its limitations, however, we should ignore neither the positive contribution, nor the potential, of the learning society idea. A paradigm has been broken; this paper seeks to move on. It argues for wresting the notion of learning society away from the dominant discourses of "modernisation" and change. In particular, it explores how we might begin to construct an historicised notion of "learning society". A natural starting point for an attempt to historicise the notion of learning society is a survey and analysis of the historiography of adult education. This paper begins this process, concentrating on literature in English.

Institutionalism in Adult Education's Historiography

The English-language historiography of adult education is dominated by two "national histories". Associated with the "glory days" of institutionalised adult education in the 1960s, Kelly (1970; first edition 1962) and Knowles (1977; first edition 1962) provided comprehensive accounts of the growth of the English and US "movements". Their breadth of scholarship remains in many ways impressive. But these works appear problematic, even unhelpful, from a learning society perspective.

Methodologically, these national histories are overwhelmingly institutional. The history of adult education becomes the history of institutions which have educated adults. The teleological nature of this approach is now apparent: the object of historical study was to explain, or merely recount, the process by which "the present" was reached. Since "present" adult education was conceived in terms of specific institutions and approaches, so its history was *ipso facto* their history. As a result, learning and education have been abstracted from their social contexts.

One example will perhaps illustrate. Kelly (1970: 1) asserts that "the earliest motive for adult education [in Britain] was religious", and "the first recorded adult educators were missionaries who came ... to convert the heathen inhabitants ..." On reflection, however, this is hardly a sustainable claim from a learning society perspective. Pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon society, like most "primitive" societies, had complex social institutions. The archaeological record shows that Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship was of a high order. Anglo-Saxon kingship involved a kind of "educational relationship" between king and "following" (Brooke : 55). Even the art and skills of war had to be learnt: hunting "accustomed men to swift rapid and effective action in the field ... [and] kept them in training" (Brooke: 60). The recitation of heroic sagas has been seen as involving "lessons" about the nature of strong rule, relationship of king and followers, etc. (Whitelock 1951). The saga poets (some of them, at least) had considerable literary, historical and rhetorical skills. The *Beowulf* poet, for example, was "a learned man":

> to his task the poet brought a considerable learning in native lays and traditions: only by learning and training could such things be acquired, they were no more born naturally into Englishmen of the seventh or eighth centuries, by simple virtue of being an Anglo-Saxon, than ready-made knowledge of poetry and history is inherited at birth by modern children. (Tolkien 1936: 28)

Pagan society involved a substantial body of "superstitious" knowledge or lore, covering for example the medicinal properties of various plants (Mayr-Harting 1972: 28). There was "an established professional [pagan] priesthood, governed by its own rules of conduct, and that there were temples ... which were substantial enough for centres of worship to have their own enclosures." (Mayr-Harting 1972: 23)

While to criticise the history of education is in some ways unfair, it points to serious limitations in this literature from a learning society perspective. "Institutionalism" has tended to decontextualise historical evidence. Meaning has been derived chiefly from modern contexts, and attention has centred on those elements which have clear continuity with the present. The range of historical methodologies and modes of explanation has been limited. In the case quoted above, for example, Kelly privileges documentary evidence, paying scant regard to archaeological or anthropological research.

Institutionalism was, of course, linked to a specific ("professional") view of the role of history. In practice, adult education history has chiefly been "done" by graduate students trained not in historical perspectives and methodologies, but in the apparatus of educational theory; or by present or former adult education practitioners. The resulting body of literature, though quite large, focuses on provision in specific fields or localities, or by certain institutions or movements, or on the contribution of outstanding individuals. Though not without strengths, this literature provides little which helps in historical analysis of societies as learning societies. This deficiency is starkly apparent in the latest, perhaps final, major contribution in this vein (Fieldhouse *et al.* 1996). In this, British adult education is neatly dissected into various areas of provision, each of which is treated to its own potted institutional history. As Fieldhouse himself admits, this "over-emphasise[s] formal and institutionalised learning at the expense of the less-well-recorded autodidactic tradition" (1996: vii-viii).

Towards a Socially-Contextualised History of Learning

In seeking to delineate the main features of a socially contextualised history of learning, we can turn to contributions which have in various ways broken the bounds of the institutional approach to adult education history. These fall into three main categories:

- *First*, a number of historians have seen adult education as being intimately linked to wider social movements, and have sought to explain historical developments in these contexts. The outstanding work is unquestionably Harrison (1961), which not only brings nineteenth century English adult education alive, but locates it in within a web of competing and interacting forms of knowledge (religious dissent, self-help and "getting on", political reform, laissez faire, socialism, co-operation, and so forth). More recently, valuable contributions have included Schied (1993) and Welton (1987).

- *Second*, adult education history has occasionally been written by "outsiders". The results are not always encouraging, but two examples do stand out. The more substantial is Kett (1994), who bases his account of the transition "from self-improvement to adult education in America" over 240 years on considerable scholarship. He sees "self-improvement" as encapsulating a characteristically American attitude to knowledge (and learning). Without endorsing his argument, part of its strength lies in his taking adult education as a socially constructed phenomenon to be studied, rather than as an institution to be justified. Macintyre's (1980) investigation of adult education arises from his attempt to explain the social construction of British marxism as a form of knowledge. This took a particular form, he argues, in part because of the character of the labour college movement, and an "autodidact" tradition established within British working class culture.

- A *third* and rather different type of contribution has sometimes arisen when historical investigation has been carried out within, or been stimulated by, an adult educational process. Strictly speaking, these are not so much contributions to the history of adult education or learning as histories nourished and shaped in adult educational *milieux*. In some celebrated cases (Thompson 1963; Williams 1961) they have been seminal in shaping or reshaping whole disciplinary areas. Their significance here is that they proceed in part by problematising and deconstructing forms of knowledge: their emphasis is on how people made sense of their worlds, as well as how they sought to change it.

These examples suggest how a "learning society" perspective could shift attention from the history of education to the social construction and evolution of forms of learning and knowledge. Thus refocused on central concerns of social and educational inquiry, historical scholarship would be revitalised. Institutionally-oriented historical research has appeared increasingly arcane as educational institutions themselves are revealed as transient and contingent. Contemporary non-historical scholarship in education and related fields places increasing emphasis on the relationship between learning and social context. We have *begun* to see how these interact in relation to such dimensions as gender (e.g., Belenky *et al*. 1986) and ethnicity (e.g., Watkins & Biggs 1996); but this research has been overwhelmingly synchronic.

The central premise of such an approach in historical research would be to accept that *every* human society is a learning society; from this it can proceed to investigations of the nature of learning and knowledge in the past. Typical questions might be: How have opportunities and capacities for learning been socially distributed in various societies? What social and institutional processes have led to the construction of various forms of knowledge historically? This approach by no means precludes researching the history of education and training (which have for long periods been key social mechanisms by which knowledge is produced and distributed); but they are taken as particular, rather than general, forms.

The Audience for History

A key problem for adult education history has been its narrow audience. "Our" historians have spoken to a small profession, few of whom have shown much inclination to listen. No longer under even the limited protection afforded by the notion of "foundation disciplines", historians of adult education have found demonstrating the relevance of their work increasingly difficult. Could the history of *adult learning* in social context have a wider audience? While this question must remain open, there are some grounds for suggesting an affirmative answer. The main reason, perhaps paradoxically, is the pace of contemporary social change.

A single illustration must suffice by way of conclusion. "Modernisers" tend to see the past as marked by stability, even inflexibility. This is at best gross oversimplification. Many historical periods have been marked by rapid, unpredictable, change. Much has occurred as a result of ineluctable global pressures. In such situations, human beings have had rapidly to learn. Unfortunately, while there is much evidence of their capacity to do so, what and how they learn is not always pretty. Browning (1992), for instance, shows in vivid and alarming detail how a battalion of reserve police officers learnt to play their part in the "final solution" during 1942-43. He presents a finely textured account of a gruesome episode, in which some very "ordinary men" not only learnt the technical tricks of the mass murder trade, but (by and large) learnt to come to terms with the horror of what they did. Though impassioned advocates of the "learning organisation" would no doubt recoil from the implication, this was, of course, a process of organisational learning. It suggests strongly the need to problematise ethical as well as technical dimensions in organisational learning. In the context of rapid change, men and women learn the bad as well as the good; and most of all they learn what "works".

This paper has argued that a "learning society" perspective, albeit flawed and as yet under-theorised, can revitalise the role of history in scholarship for "our" field. The range of topic appropriate to historical research on socially-contextualised adult learning is far greater than that appropriate to "history of adult education" as traditionally conceived. Methodologically, the options available are much wider. The links between oral history, biography, experience and learning present fascinating possibilities (see, e.g., Thomson 1996). How people learn in stable and changing social contexts, what the meaning and impact of different patterns of learning has been, how knowledge has been created and distributed socially: these are key issues which historical investigation can illuminate. More important, it is only through historical investigation that we can best consider many complex and sometimes troubling issues which anyone professionally concerned with the business of learning should address.

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Adult-Education Programs Of The New Deal: The Case Of Oklahoma, 1933 - 1942

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Abstract. The federal Adult Education programs of the Great Depression represented the response of the New Deal to unemployed teachers. Although these programs were essentially relief projects intended to take unemployed teachers off the rolls and hire them as adult educators, they resulted in: 1) establishing adult education as a legitimate field of practice with unique educational needs and methods; 2) introducing the nation to adult education theory as it then existed; and 3) teaching large numbers of adults to read for the first time.

Introduction

Outside of the Americanization program and military training, the federal government's role in furthering adult education in the United States had not been widespread until well into the 20th Century. Clearly the largest and most comprehensive intervention of the federal government in the field of education was that of the adult education programs of the Depression Era. Before the Roosevelt Administration took such an activist role in shaping United States' society, Washington had been content to leave education up to the state and local communities. This resulted in widely varying practices and uneven quality of education that emphasized education of children and left adult education up to the individual and various self improvement societies and associations. The New Deal made a difference, according to Knowles (1962, p. 137), "…broadening the curriculum and freeing the adult schools' methodology from the shackles of traditional classroom procedures."

The focus of this historical study into the workings of the New Deal adult education initiatives in Oklahoma has been prompted by Houle's (1992) assertion that only one book-length study has been published to date about the adult education programs of the New Deal despite the magnitude of both the need occasioned by the Great Depression and services provided. Referring to Kornbluh's (1983) study of adult education programs of the era, the focus of which was primarily on the industrial settings of the eastern United States, Houle (Interviewed by Pauli and Bercsh, n.d.) lamented the lack of serious studies on adult education of the Depression era, noting that "People act as if there is no knowledge base in the field of adult education…"

Prior Historical Research on the Period

In his extensive review of the literature Houle (1992) observed that references to the adult education programs of the New Deal were scarce. Kornbluh (1983) studied workers' education of the Depression era, particularly in the industrial sector. Her analysis includes a detailed study of early efforts at women's education and gives an excellent introduction to the federal agencies that arose out of the economic emergency of the time. Zeitlin (1958) studied the relationship between the federal government and the education establishment during the New Deal period. The closest study to the present one was a report of the first year of the adult education programs in Oklahoma by Jones (1935), which was extraordinarily valuable for setting the context of the period since Jones was a participant in the program. Unfortunately for us scholars, she only studied the first year of the program.

Dissemination of Existing Adult Education Theory during the New Deal

Several books were influential during the adult education movement of the Depression era, including *Adult Education* by Bryson (1936) which was required reading for program administrators and teachers. This book was a response to the need for curriculum materials for the adult education teachers of the time. Another book frequently used was by Debatin (1938), which came out late in the decade and described the field of adult education and analyzed the financial basis for adult education as it then existed. These works communicated a pervasive concern about the lack of knowledge of adult education theory and methodology among practitioners. Adult education literature of the time broadly described the efforts to train adult educators which was an issue throughout the life of the New Deal. The following quote illustrates this concern:

> Adult education is relatively new and its principles are not generally understood. Usually teachers coming on [sic] the program are lacking in proper educational training and experience because other agencies have not as yet provided adequate training in the field of adult education (Davis, 1940, p. 1).

Other works that influenced the framers of the New Deal adult education programs were Dewey's (1916) *Democracy and Education* which stressed the connection between education and democratic government and gave a general impetus to the adult education program as a method to combat possible Fascist and Communist reactions to the Depression. Peffer's (1926) *New Schools for Older Students* proposed in great detail the various types of adult education programs that could successfully be offered during that period. Lindeman's (1926) classic work as well as Dorothy Canfield Fisher's 1927 and 1930 books had great influence on the policy-makers of the New Deal programs. Thorndike (1935) was especially influential because he addressed he central question of adults' ability to learn. He called upon educators to ignore the myths and taboos and look at the facts. His studies showed:

> ...the ability to learn increased from early childhood to about age 25 and decreased gradually and slowly thereafter, about 1 percent per year. Childhood was found to be emphatically not the best age for learning in the sense of the age when the greatest returns per unit of time spent are received. The age for learning that is best in that sense is the twenties, and any age below 45 is better than ages 10 to 14 (Thorndike, 1935, p.2).

Other studies that influenced the framers of the New Deal policies on adult education came from England. Especially influential was Stanley's (1923) *The Way Out: Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult Education*, which emphasized the value of adult education in addressing improvements in the social fabric. The most influential work coming from England, however, was the Ministry of Reconstruction's Final Report (1919) which described in detail what England had done during the World War I years. By comprehensively detailing how the British government dealt with a national emergency using adult education as a means, this work became a touchstone of conceptual thought for those who wanted to use similar means to overcome the economic emergency of the 1930s.

Creation and Implementation of a Federal Adult Education Initiative

Upon taking office, Roosevelt found one quarter of the United States' workforce unemployed (Kornbluh, 1983). With little in the way of what today is called the social safety net, this situation produced a sense of desperation among large segments of our society. In March of 1933 Roosevelt asked Congress to authorize an office of federal relief to aid the states. Within days Senate Bill 812 was introduced to "..provide for cooperation by the federal government with the states in relieving hardship and suffering caused by unemployment (Congressional Record, 1933, 77:1022)." After passage by the House in early April of that year, this bill became the basis for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Roosevelt quickly named Harry Hopkins to head this new agency. Hopkins used his experience working with Governor Roosevelt in New York to break with tradition on how to deal with poverty and unemployment. Not believing in direct financial relief, he sought to provide work for the unemployed in jobs created by public works, education and general community improvement. According to Hopkins, "...we as a nation had awakened to the fact that unemployment means more than physical want and physical idleness...the conservation and development of human resources is most important (Hopkins as quoted in Proffitt, 1938, p. 22)" With this basic set of assumptions, some of the first programs that Hopkins established under the FERA included the Emergency Education Program (EEP). This early initiative reflected Hopkins' belief in the value of education as a way of overcoming the problems of the period. The objectives of the EEP included: to increase understanding of social and political problems, to provide citizenship training for aliens, to reduce adult illiteracy, to provide vocational training and counseling and to provide continuing education opportunities to people who had left school early or whose schooling was cut short by the Depression (Works Progress Administration Technical Series, 1938).

The original design of the program provided economic relief and rehabilitation of unemployed teachers, but this was to be done while providing an education to those who would otherwise be left out of the system. Hopkins (as quoted in Proffitt, 1938, p. 23) was observed to have said, "We have tried to make a beginning in the development of a broad program of social education which would meet the interests and needs of adults and which would aim to fit the needs of our industrial democracy."

The initial thrust of the program began in August of 1933 when Hopkins authorized governors and FERA administrators to spend state relief funds to hire jobless teachers for reopening rural schools closed due to the drop in tax receipts. He also authorized the hiring of unemployed persons, teachers and non-teachers to provide literacy training for adults (Zeitlin, 1958). The education of illiterates was a top priority from the beginning. In 1932 only 18 states, Oklahoma not among them, contributed to the support of adult education (Zeitlin, 1958). This allowed the federal government to step in and bypass local education authorities. Opposition came from state educational officials who felt that the federal government had no place in local affairs. Others were distressed that education was being used as a tool for providing economic relief. They felt that hiring people off the relief rolls, even when hiring was limited to degreed, but non-certified teachers undermined educational quality. They also felt that a federal program to hire teachers would force the wages of all teachers upward. In reality, wages were set by the states and even varied from county to county (Norris, Personal communication, January 14, 1936). Moreover, the wages paid by WPA were usually much less than wages paid to regular teachers. FERA and WPA teachers rarely looked at the job as anything but temporary (Educational Work Relief for Jobless Teachers, 1933, p. 811).

The Political Situation in Oklahoma Leads to Federalization of the Program

In 1933 William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray was governor of Oklahoma. Governor Murray had run against Roosevelt in several of the 1932 primaries. It was a bitter rivalry, colored by Murray's suggestion that Roosevelt's paralysis was the result of "locomotor ataxia," i.e., syphilis. Murray, although a Democrat, did not support the New Deal. Although the financial crisis in Oklahoma was desperate by 1933 when the beginning of decade had seen property taxes declining by $30 million and farm income declining by 64% (Lambert, 1983), Murray's treatment of federal officials is unexplainable without reference to his personal animosity toward Roosevelt. According to Patterson (1969), when Aubrey Williams--FERA liaison officer to Oklahoma City--went to see the governor, Murray met him shoeless and offered him a cup of tea strained through his filthy handkerchief. During their conversation, Murray's comments about Roosevelt were riddled with profanity. Williams' impression of Oklahoma was no less negative; he reported to Washington thus, "....thieving and favoritism on all sides. I found that every Tom, Dick and Harry in the state was getting relief whether they were unemployed or not (Patterson, 1969, p. 54)."

Reports of this type led to the federalization of the adult education program in Oklahoma in February of 1934, a distinction Oklahoma shared only with Louisiana under Huey Long. Even after federalization, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray's political influence over the State Department of Education and the Vocational Education Department was a constant problem for Washington (Vaughan, Personal Communication, Oct. 23, 1933). Murray's influence was counteracted by the federal staff by imposing regulations that the program be under the control of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, John Vaughan. Vaughan's correspondence to Hopkins reveals that political hiring and firing of teachers was a problem during the entire period.

Adult Education's Role in Preservation of Democracy

Hopkins and Adlerman repeatedly gave speeches stressing the importance of education in a democratic society. Education led to good citizenship. At the time public interest was directed to economic restructuring of the nation. A variety of political and social movements of the time advocated new societal structures from a change to communistic redistribution of wealth to a fascistic control by a strong government combined with ethnic cleansing. Radical movements and their leaders were a constant threat. Hopkins and Roosevelt looked at education as a way to combat such ideas. Hopkins stated, "Illiterates are dangerous to a democracy (as) they are easy prey to propaganda and exploitation (Hopkins, 1938, p. 39-40)." He felt that even when literate, the unemployed or under employed with a large amounts of free time on their hands would be more likely to pursue radical activities than those pursuing constructive leisure time activities such as attending adult education classes. Hopkins and Alderman were highly influenced by Lindeman who at that time was also employed by the WPA. Lindeman viewed fascism and communism as real threats to democracy. He believed that fascism was the greatest threat in America, noting that Mussolini had found. more circumstances favorable to the development of fascism in the U.S. than anywhere else in the world (Stewart, 1991). In order to advance his views, Lindeman wrote numerous manuals and memoranda for the program. Lindeman stressed a democratic educational setting relying on discussion rather than authoritative lecture. He urged methods that relied on demonstrations, projects and experiments designed to get the students participating. (Lindeman, November, 1936).

Given the circumstances described above, the adult education program of the New Deal assumed almost a religious zealousness of preserving democracy. This allowed a departure from what had up to then been traditional education practices. Consequently individuals who had never been encouraged or even allowed opportunities were suddenly sought out as students. Minorities, women, immigrants and the down-trodden were suddenly looked upon as needing education. Failure to provide that education was seen as a risk to our democracy and our way of life.

Implementation of the Program in Oklahoma

Eight hundred and ten teachers were initially hired and the adult education program operated in 73 out of 77 counties. Response to the program in Oklahoma was as enthusiastic as the rest of the nation. The *Chicago Daily News* (Adult Craving…March 10, 1934) reported, "…the adult demand for education is far in excess of what was anticipated even by persons foremost in the adult education movement." (p. 316).

Supervision was key to the success of the program in Oklahoma and supervisors made frequent visits to the various sites throughout the state. Supervisors credentials included prior education beyond the bachelor's degree with at least five years of educational experience, preferably in adult education. They were expected to maintain memberships in adult education societies and were even expected to maintain a personal library in adult education and related fields at their own expense (Davis, 1940). Supervisors were also expected to attend two to five week residential training sessions each year (Federal Works Agency of the WPA, 1941). All this was to be accomplished for the modest pay of $175.00 per month (Giles, c., personal communication, Aug. 8, 1934).

In the Fall and Winter of 1934-35, a series of three six-week courses were offered to teachers at Oklahoma A&M College to prepare them to teach adults, something that few had ever done before (Jones, 1935). Training was done by the State supervisor, recently returned from the national training course and by A&M College faculty. Topics during the six-week courses included: 1. Social foundations, 2) Philosophy and History of adult education, 3) Adult Education Methods, 4) Instructional materials development, 5) Planning conferences and workshops.

In the provision of adult education classes throughout the state, teachers were often responsible for obtaining a public place in which to hold the classes. Suggested places included churches, lodge halls or store buildings. No classes could be held in the homes of the teachers or the students. Students were to be 16 or older. Classes were free, however students had to be motivated to achieve some quantifiable objective. These objectives kept the programs accountable and helped public relations over the life of the program. Statistical results were often sent to newspapers in terms of amounts of food preserved, numbers of people taught to read. (Federal Works Agency of the WPA, 1941).

Lessons to be Learned

The emphasis placed on accountability by the New Deal decision makers provides a needed lesson for today. The Records left behind amply testify to this fact: not only how many jars of food were canned in a home economics program, but the kinds of food (Stephens, 1937). Accountability, reflected in careful attention to detail countered the claims that the New Deal adult education programs were wasting money.

The New Deal adult education programs understood that adult education was different from common education. This initiative took college graduates and laid off teachers of elementary and secondary education and introduced them to adult education concepts and principles. Washington spokespersons, influenced by Lindeman and others of the period, knew that adults could not be taught successfully using the same methods employed in the public schools. Hence, special staff development programs were put in place and adult education theory as it then existed was disseminated for the first time to many people who were ignorant of such theory.

Adult education was used to help preserve democracy in a period when the entire world seemed to by moving in the direction of totalitarianism as an answer to economic turmoil. In the view of the leaders of the New Deal, adult education, perhaps more than any other program, was a key factor keeping the populace from seeking totalitarianism as a solution to the country's ills.

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Feminist Teaching, Feminist Research, Feminist Supervision: Feminist Praxis In Adult Education

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Abstract. Feminist teaching and research have both been the subject of analytical discussions within adult education. Feminist research supervision has received rather less attention. We focus on two main issues, the role of experience and the feminist analysis of power/knowledge dynamics, in order to highlight the similarities and differences between the three areas.

Introduction

Teaching, research and research supervision are obviously different activities. But feminists have argued that practitioners in the first two contexts should adopt certain principles which include, among others, the valuing of experience and subjectivity, and a recognition of the situated and political construction of knowledge[1]. Little has been written about feminist research supervision, particularly in respect of these two issues. We want to consider whether or not there are feminist supervision practices and, if so, how these principles affect them.

We believe that these issues are sharply focused for adult educators engaged in feminist practices for several reasons: one, because students/supervisees/research participants are likely to be peers in all other respects; two, because adult education has, historically, been engaged in critical social praxes (like feminism); three, because adult education has a strong tradition of action research (a feature that links all three activities).

We are both experienced feminist adult educators. Christine is currently working on her PhD and Miriam is her co-supervisor. We began working together twelve years ago on feminist curriculum development and, in our many discussions, have come to recognise the parallels and discontinuities between feminist teaching, research and supervision in adult education.

We believe that the comparison of these three learning processes illuminates more effectively the operation of feminism than separate analyses. The feminist research example (the work Christine carried out for her PhD) is empirical, but the comparative model is drawn from our own experiences: Miriam and Christine as feminist adult educators, Christine as feminist researcher, and Miriam as feminist supervisor (of Christine and others). We were prompted to write the paper when we read Chapman and Sork's dialogue about the supervision relationship.[2] We also talked to a number of feminists (both students and supervisers) about research supervision.[3]

Feminism and Experience

Experience has a central place in feminist educational theory. Its validation is promoted as a counterbalance to the silencing impact of grand theory which suppresses the individual or idiosyncratic. Its role in pedagogy has been celebratory and emancipatory: a statement that women's lives matter and a basis for a critical exploration of those lives in a political context. Experience is troublesome, partial and even contradictory. Nevertheless, its acknowledgement is essential to feminist praxis.

Teaching and Experience. Many women students find it difficult to validate their life experiences in an educational setting. For example, Christine's students were embarrassed to admit that they enjoyed popular romantic fiction. Their experiences of reading were, in effect, invalidated by their experience and expectations of academic life. Consequently, she began to use these texts as part of the curriculum and noticed how they resonated for many women, generating connections between text and experience.

Christine wanted to understand why her groups worked so reflexively with the popular romance. Why did it engage women so effectively in reflecting critically on their own experiences? How could such apparently conservative texts offer scope for feminist teaching without falling into the trap of simply criticising their portrayal of women and, by implication, criticising their readers? Although feminist teaching has always valued women's experiences[4], the limitations of so doing and the need to move beyond this have also been discussed[5]. The group shared experiences when it discussed these texts in the classroom, but participants also contextualised and politicised those experiences and discussed their relationship to cultural products like the romance. Researching the use of experience in teaching revealed to us that students were in fact exploring 'generative themes'[6] through their reflexive engagement with romantic fiction. They used discussion and dialogue to establish contradictions between texts and lives and commonalities and differences in their understandings of romantic discourses. This process uncovered both the importance of romantic discourses in shaping many of our lives and the many different strategies we used to resist or reconstruct these. In this respect we moved from sharing individual experiences to making connections between those experiences and broader issues of gender construction.

Research and Experience. There has been extensive interest in the use of autobiography and story-telling in adult education research and practice, particularly from feminist and post-colonialist educators seeking to find ways to acknowledge the voices of groups silenced by dominant discourses. Similarly, we were eager to ensure that this research respected the participants'experiences so opted for a grounded qualitative research design influenced by the arguments of feminist researchers committed to phenomenological and interactive methodologies[7]. Data collection methods were designed to maximise the opportunity for students to speak and write freely about their experiences of reading, romance and education.

However, during the process of coding and interpretation, we increasingly understood that the students' responses and journal writings were themselves textual constructs shaped, as the research itself shows, by the discourses available to them. Research is a textual process not a transparent account of experience[8]. In fact, one aspect of this research that we both found particularly exciting was that we began to discover how women's experiences were often couched in terms of romance narratives.

We were not able fully to resolve the tensions we experienced between our desire to respect and validate experience and our conviction that research data are constructs which cannot have privileged status as truths beyond fiction. We can provide women with opportunities to speak and have their words recorded, but we have to recognise that those words are cultural and linguistic constructs. As researchers we have a responsibility to seek to theorise their implications for feminist purposes.

Supervision and experience. In working together on Christine's thesis, we shared a set of assumptions about the extent to which our experience of the subject of feminism could be taken for granted. Indeed, we assumed that we would not have to explain about feminism but could, instead, rely on shared goals and beliefs about feminism, and some commitment to a feminist project. Of course, any adult education supervisor should recognise the significance of experience in all its guises (historical, shared, within and outside the research context), both for supervisors and supervisees, and respect that experience. However, there are dilemmas for a feminist supervisor looking to take account of experience, and to make it part of the supervision relationship.

First of all, our statement about the significance of experience, and the ways in which we attend to experience may not reflect the expectations of those being supervised. Although individuals may be well established in their own professional fields, may understand intellectually as adult educators that their experience is the legitimate starting point for research, they also participate in the cultural meanings and expectations of a supervisor as expert, voyeur, gatekeeper and guard[9]. An expert, a gatekeeper, is not usually someone who takes into account and pays attention to experience. So the relationship is contradictory - on the one hand, holistic and legitimating, on the other, scrutinising and evaluative.

Secondly, the attempt to take experience into account may be counter-productive in the pursuit of a research degree. As supervisors, we have a responsibility both to the supervisee and to the institution - and sometimes that involves prioritising institutional demands over personal experiences (for example, if a deadline is looming). For feminists - and other supervisors - the recognition of experience may be limited by an understanding of the 'game'. In this situation, it might be more appropriate for feminist supervisors to make explicit the power relations and the negotiations within them, rather than ignoring them.

A third contradiction between taking account of experience and feminist supervision lies in the boundaries around experience. What does it mean to share experience in the supervision context? To what extent could and should discussions about experience be reciprocal? Ultimately, whose experience is being taken into account? Through discussion with other feminists, we believe that there are moral and academic limits to the supervisor's inclusion of (her) own experience. There are limits to the reciprocity of experience. Moreover, a clear understanding of the onus and direction of responsibility (and hierarchy) form an essential part of any research supervision.

Feminism and Knowledge/Power

We believe it is dishonest to pretend that we are all equals with respect to knowledge in every context. The issue is how to use the power that extensive, publicly validated knowledge may give us, with respect to other women who do not have that kind of knowledge.

Teaching and knowledge/power. There are, of course, hierarchies in teaching. Feminists have argued that teaching should be grounded in equality, non-hierarchy and democracy[10], but we find this problematic. Whilst a critical pedagogue will not establish her/himself as the definitive source of knowledge about the world[11], even feminist teachers have knowledge, power and responsibility in the classroom.

In particular, they have 'expert' power/knowledge. A feminist teacher has a responsibility to share their expert knowledge in ways which enable students to construct their own knowledges through dialogue which engages their experiences. For example, in the sessions on romantic fiction, students were offered a range of approaches to reading and interpretation to 'bank'. This had its place in a critical feminist project, because it was offered, not as truth, but as a set of tools to enhance dialogue and because each individual constructed their own interpretation of the texts using these tools.

A degree of inequality is almost inevitable in a formal educational context. Inequalities can be ameliorated by ensuring that knowledge in one field does not confer general superiority on the knower. The reflexive approach adopted meant that theory and technique were always interacting with experience - of life, reading and romantic discourses. It was critical to ensure that we all understood that, although the teacher's knowledge of the discipline might be wider, this did not make her experience more valid than theirs or give her the right to put specific constructions on their experiences, be they of life or of reading. However, teachers also have institutional as well as expert power, and cannot give it away. In the end, they assess students.

Research and knowledge/power . The issues raised in relation to teaching and knowledge/power persist in any feminist understanding of research. At one level, those being researched have rather more power than those being taught. Their 'data' forms the basis for the creation of knowledge and this might be seen as a central point of power; they may view themselves as the 'knower' (rather than the researcher); they may indeed exercise power and mislead deliberately or even refuse to participate.

Many feminists have attempted to recognise and make explicit (and equal) the power relationships that exist in the research process and to argue that, by presenting women's words as they stand, without imposing their own meanings and understandings, they are able to share power with those they research[12].

But ultimately, although the process of research might be equal, non-hierarchical and collaborative, and it might involve participants in the construction and carrying out of research, the product of research - that is, the creation of emergent knowledge - is well and truly in the hands of the researcher. As argued above, the researcher constructs a story, produces a text which is never an unmediated account of experience. Indeed, the researcher may use several devices to exclude or reinterpret material that does not 'fit' such as data which is damaging for a feminist perspective[13].

Supervision and knowledge/power.

> 'You were very clear from the beginning to point out the reciprocal nature of the supervisory relationship. I must admit I still have problems with this, which I realise is really contradictory to my feminism. The difficulty for me is primarily around revisiting and redefining previously held (undergraduate) notions of academics and researchers and the production of knowledge, and concomitantly integrating ideas I have about feminism into that ongoing redefinition. I still find it hard to think that you could possibly learn anything from me'.[14]

Despite our expectation that knowledge creation will genuinely be a joint activity within research supervision, and that this is reciprocal, this quote shows the extent to which supervisory relationships are negotiated within a cultural context in which institutional status and power cannot be disregarded - even within a feminist perspective. Regardless of the intentions of the supervisor, those being supervised will often make explicit their demands for knowledge from a supervisor - their expectation that a supervisor will be an expert, will 'know' (the best way to research, the latest research, how to do it, etc). And, in order to 'contain' the riskiness of postgraduate study, to make it safe, we believe that supervisors need to take responsibility for this investment, on the part of both supervisee and institution, of authority and power. They need to be able to facilitate a structure for the research, to set up supervision that will be focused and useful[15].

This does not mean a denial of reciprocity - in many ways, the **shared** journey towards the creation of new knowledge is understated by the examination of an individual's thesis (acknowledgements do not perhaps reflect the reciprocity of such an intense process). But it does mean an explicit understanding of the ways in which power operates even within an ostensibly equal relationship.

Furthermore, it may be helpful - even for feminist supervisees - to maintain an illusion of surveillance, of expertise, both within the supervision sessions themselves and outside. Christine positions Miriam as 'knower' by holding a dialogue with her as she writes, even though she knows at this stage that she is much more knowledgeable about her thesis than Miriam. But she recognises this as a device - she simultaneously recognises the gradual transfer of power, control and knowledge as she is ever closer to completion. Perhaps the greatest risk for feminist supervisors is a denial of the significance of knowledge/power in research relationships, and an over-emphasis on reciprocity and mutuality.

Conclusions

We have tried to look at the consequences of feminism for research supervision, by comparison with teaching and research. All three praxes value experience in that they use it as their starting point. However, all three need to move beyond experience: teaching, in order to fulfil other aspects of a feminist agenda -the politicisation of experience and the analysis of gender oppression; research, because it is constructive rather than transparent, acknowledging participants' accounts of their experiences whilst using these as the basis for the creation of new interpretations of experience; supervision, because it needs to recognise that there are two experiences which have to count and which may be differently weighted - the supervisee's and the supervisor's.

The relationship between experience and power/knowledge lies in the fact that the teacher (not the taught), the researcher (not the researched) and the supervisor (not the supervisee) has the most power to determine which experiences will count as knowledge. The feminist teacher, researcher or supervisor has a responsibility to maximise opportunities for the validation of the experiences of those with whom she works. Thus, negotiating the place of experience, indeed acting as an advocate for its validation within the insitutional and interpersonal frameworks which contain and contextualise it, is a critical responsibility for the feminist educator.

Recognition and negotiation of the place of experience and power/knowledge are not the same as acceptance; neither are they complete rejection. Instead, we believe that the feminist educator needs to go well beyond simple dichotomies and act as a catalyst for change within shifting constructions of knowledge and experience. We would also welcome a dialogue with others who are trying to develop feminist research supervision practices.

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[1] For example, G Weiner (1994) *Feminism in Education: An Introduction*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

[2] Valerie-Lee Chapman and Thomas J Sork (1997) 'Passports please! Crossing borders in a university graduate programme' in P Armstrong, N Miller and M Zukas (eds) *Crossing Borders, breaking boundaries: research in the education of adults*. SCUTREA.

[3] We are very grateful indeed to all those who participated; in particular, we thank Jo Mallows for her thought-provoking and very helpful written reflection of being supervised.

[4] M Hart (1990) 'Liberation through Consciousness' in J Mezirow and Associates (eds) *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass. R O'Rourke (1995) 'All Equal Now?' in M Mayo and J Thompson (eds) *Adult Learning, Critical Intelligence and Social Change*, Leicester, NIACE.

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Positionality: Whiteness as a Social Construct that Drives Classroom Dynamics

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Abstract. When teachers and learners enter classrooms, they bring their own positions in the hierarchies that order the world. This study examines how one of those positionalities, Whiteness, drives classroom dynamics.

The idea of the teacher as a facilitator is a hallmark of adult education (Apps, 1991; Brookfield, 1995; Knowles, 1992). This central principle charges adult educators to go beyond the role that the teacher takes in traditional classroom settings and stipulates the need to treat adults as equals in the classroom. Yet, it is clear that facilitation does not occur on a neutral stage, but in the real world of hierarchical power relations among all of the adults, including teachers and learners (Colin & Preciphs, 1991; Luttrell, 1993). When learners and teachers enter classrooms they bring their positions in the hierarchies that order the world, including those based on race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and disability. Because the social context is duplicated in the microcosm of the classroom (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996; Tisdell, 1993), enacting the facilitation role will reproduce the power structures that privilege some, silence some, and deny the existence of others. (Tisdell, 1993; 1995). If all learners are to thrive, adult educators must go beyond the role of the facilitator and negotiate these positionalities that exist in the classroom. Race is a critical positionality around which classroom dynamics are contested (hooks, 1994). Nearly all of the research around race has examined classroom dynamics in relation to African-American learners (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996; Sheared, 1994), leaving uninterrogated the dominant positionality of Whiteness and its effects in the classroom. The purpose of this study was to examine the ways in which the social construct of Whiteness played out in two adult education classes.

Theoretical Perspective: Are Adult Education Classes the Real World?

Nearly all discussions of teaching in adult education simply avoid the question of whether adult education classrooms are the real world (Knowles, 1992). In such a script, which presents the domain of ivory towers where all students are equal and all teachers are unbiased, we are presented with the unspoken assumption that the activity of teaching and learning must happen in a parallel universe to the real world because the power relationships that are omnipresent in the social and organizational settings of everyday life have been obliterated. By stripping learners and teachers of their place in the hierarchies of social life, this view assumes we stage adult education where the politics of everyday life do not operate or matter. This view asks us to see teachers and learners as generic entities, unencumbered by the hierarchies that structure our social relationships.

Our view is that adult education must be the real world because the power relationships that structure our social lives cannot possibly be checked at the classroom door. There is no magical transformation that occurs as teachers and learners step across the threshold of the classroom. McIntosh, an educational theorist, (1995) also uses the baggage metaphor by discussing how privileges structure everyday lives. Specifically, McIntosh (a white woman) examines how white privilege and male privilege affect our lives in and out of educational settings; these privileges are an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes compass, emergency gear, and blank checks= that can be used in any situation in people's everyday lives. Some of McIntosh's examples that are relevant to educational settings include: 1) I can be fairly sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race, 2) I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group, and 3) If I have low credibility as a leader, I can be sure that my race is not the problem. This view asks us to see teachers and learners not as generic individuals but rather as people who have differential capacities to act (our definition of power) based on their place in the hierarchies of our social world.

The specific theoretical framework that drives this study derives from critical race theory (Omi & Winant, 1994; Tate, 1997) and, in particular, the recent scholarship on Whiteness (Giroux, 1997; McIntosh, 1995). As with all other racial categories, Whiteness is not a Anatural state≅ deducible from physical characteristics, but rather is a historical, cultural, and political construction that is a social site of power and privilege. Although Whiteness is a social construct that is always context dependent and relational, it nevertheless shapes the lives of people differentially within existing inequalities of power and wealth. These effects have been shown in education by Maher and Tetreault=s (1997) reanalysis of their data from *The Feminist Classroom* (1994) in which they examined how assumptions of Whiteness shaped Athe construction of knowledge as it is produced and resisted in the classroom≅ (p. 321) Our point is that to understand Whiteness is to assign everyone, not only black, brown, yellow, and red people, differentiated places in the racialized hierarchies of classrooms.

Research Design and Data Collection

The design of the study was a qualitative comparative case study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) of two graduate courses taught by the authors of this paper. Each class was taught in the same university, was of the same length (10 weeks), and met one night a week. One class in which 12 students were enrolled, "Critical Perspectives on Adult Education," was taught by a White male professor and had White, Black, and Asian students. The other in which 19 students were enrolled, "Qualitative Research in Education," was taught by a Black woman assistant professor and had Black and White students. The five sources included: 1) students' (anonymous) evaluations, 2) each teacher's observations, 3) interviews with the students using an interview guide (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992), 4) interviews with the teachers (immediately following the class each teacher interviewed the other), and 5) conversations with similarly situated faculty members. The students who were interviewed were assigned pseudonyms and care was taken so that their identities were not revealed to the professor of record for the course. Immediately following the courses' completion, each teacher interviewed the other about the power dynamics in their classes. During the final class session, each professor went to the other's class to solicit students to be interviewed. Seven students from each class were interviewed after the course=s completion using a set of questions that indirectly addressed power issues. After each professor read the masked transcripts about their own classes, they interviewed each other again. Risk was inherent in this study not only for the students who volunteered but to the teachers who would hear what their students thought about their classes. Because risk was a dominant factor in this study, it was addressed at several points including at the solicitation for student interviews and in the human subjects form.

Results

The concept of positionality addresses how the cultures, genders, races, ages, and sexual orientations of the teachers and students act and interact in the classroom environment. These positionalities more than any other factor dictate learning and patterns of classroom behavior (Maher & Tetreault, 1994). Two salient examples of student and teacher positionality are reported here. In the seminar class, the professor had the students perform an exercise where they created a class hierarchy ranking their classmates according to their perception of how they were classified in society. One Black woman student recounted this incident as a very painful one for a White woman student who dropped considerably in hierarchical status when she revealed that she was a lesbian:

> After she came out in class she was always ranked with me. She lost her privilege and it bothered her. She told me that she would never have come out if she had known that it was going to put her down there with me. I told her, AIt was okay to be down here with me."

An incident that occurred in the research class involving the confrontation over an exam gives a clear example of how the professor=s positionality can impact the student/teacher interactions. One student analyzed the situation succinctly,

> ...if I had a problem I would definitely talk to the professor but definitely not in a confrontational manner...There are groups of people who are marginalized in our society. And we know that females are marginalized and of course Black people are. I don=t know if that was the person=s reason for doing that but I wonder if this person would have challenged a White male the way he challenged her.

This student's analysis is probably correct because it was corroborated by the student who confronted the Black woman assistant professor. He explained that he felt Akind of funny in class because he was surrounded by women that believe that feminism is something they have to go for." He further explained that the female professor was Adominant≅ in the classroom and that in his culture women are Aornamental.≅ Another analysis of this situation was revealed by a third student who felt that it was wrong of the student to challenge the professor in an openly hostile manner but who also felt that the professor should not have been firm with him in front of the class. However, her sentiments reveal that she also felt uncomfortable with the woman professor=s reactions which were assertive rather than nurturing. The student's questioning of the Aappropriateness≅ of the exchange placed the blame on the professor even though the male student was insistently confrontational and despite the fact that the teacher requested that they talk after class.

Analysis of the data revealed that the positionality of the professors more than any other factor affected the classroom dynamics. And among the factors that compose positionality, race was the most salient issue. Further study showed that it was "whiteness" that emerged as the factor specific dynamic for this factor. This theme was particularly apparent in the reflective analysis of the professors. The white male observed:

> I think it's a really interesting fact that I constantly mentioned race and gender in my course. The course really centered on those two issues perhaps more than any other and yet no one saw me as having an agenda. Whereas, you barely touched on race and gender in your research course and yet your students saw this as your agenda or platform in the course.

In contrast, students could not see past the race and gender of the Black woman instructor. Students frequently mentioned her race and gender as a factor that affected classroom discussions and dynamics. Yet the race and gender of the white male instructor was never offered as a factor that impacted the classroom. Whereas it might appear that her Black race and female gender were barriers to the classroom dynamics, a review of the student and faculty interviews in addition to conducting peer debriefing with other faculty revealed that it was "whiteness" (the male professor's and that of the various students) that was set forth as the standard and that it was the absence of whiteness that became the criteria by which the students assessed the Black woman professor.

Examination of student-teachers interactions further supports the contention that whiteness was the major factor shaping classroom dynamics. It was noted that the following interactions were commonplace in the Black woman professor's classroom: 1) challenge to knowledge dissemination, 2) teacher student confrontations, 3) classroom crosstalk, and 4) reinterpretation or disregard of classroom protocol. These issues were not seen in the male professor's classroom. Considerations such as teacher control, personal style and individual group student behavior were eliminated as contributing factors since member checks revealed that these issues consistently surfaced in the classrooms of Black male and female professors and conversely rarely surfaced in the classrooms of white male and female professors. In addition the peer debriefing also helped to remove gender differences as a possible contributing social construct since White women professor's experiences did not parallel those of Black women professors.

Upon reviewing the experiences of Black instructors and reflecting on his practice the white male professor remarked, "I cannot imagine having a student confront me about a question on an exam. This has never happened to me. This has never happened to anyone I know." He further observed that he is always seen as a disseminator of knowledge and as a power figure in the classroom. Indeed during the course of this class his attempts to share power by establishing self governance in the classroom was consistently thwarted and rejected by the students. Whereas, his colleague reported that she routinely experienced the opposite -- students actually gathered in cliches and attempted to determine the direction of the course.

Whiteness (the professor's and students') posits itself as a normative factor which is synonymous with competence, intelligence and power. Therefore "otherness" is seen as the direct opposite of whiteness and its accompanying virtues. So that a professor and/or student who possess "otherness" enters the classroom in a deficit mode. This was well illustrated in one of the student interviews in which the woman professor's performance was discussed,

> I heard bad things about her. I know a person who had a negative experience in her classroom. She said you don't learn very much and she spends all of her time talking about her family. But that was not my experience. She was a great teacher. I learned a lot ... I guess she straightened up after she got bad evaluations.

Follow up questions revealed that it did not occur to the student that the report she had heard might have been false. In the exit interview the Black professor lamented, "That's the one thing I don't count on from my students or from society in general, >the benefit of the doubt.="

The isolation of the positionality of whiteness as the most major factor affecting positionality in the classrooms studied, holds significance for the power dynamics in the adult education setting because adults, who are more entrenched in their life roles are more likely than are children to be aware of their positionality, its attending privileges and hierarchial status. It follows that adults act out such entitlements consciously or subconsciously.

Discussion

This study showed the many complex ways in which the power relations in the larger society are played out in adult education classrooms and how they directly influence the teaching and learning process. Students in both classes were very conscious of how the classroom was organized around power relationships. They monitored both teachers= behaviors and exchanges with other students. This was typified by a student in the seminar class who felt that one student in the class attempted to always Asit next to him (the professor) as if that would give her a position of power.≅ All the students interviewed in the research class talked about one student who took up more than her fair share of class time. One participant stated: Athere was one girl who took up quite a bit of class time and (the teacher) was conscious of that...and tried to balance it.≅ A second student also took note of the teacher=s attempt to balance the vocal student=s class comments and observed that after a while the outspoken student understood what the teacher was attempting and would try to monitor herself and would make apologetic comments such as Awell this is my last question, but.≅ The students= experiences evidence a tendency to want an interactive classroom where teachers attend to issues of who talks the most and who listens the most. The students interviewed were aware of how the classroom worked and where they stood in terms of power. In the seminar class the students expressed an interest in wanting more Amediating≅ by the professor. Although the students in the research class described the overall atmosphere as positive and democratic where Aeveryone was allowed to express their opinions,≅ they still said that they experienced uncomfortable moments that centered on whiteness and blackness regarding how the power was negotiated by the teacher.

Both classes clearly wanted direction from teachers and also wanted classroom power dynamics arbitrated, but varied along individual and race lines as to their definitions of the ideal. The traditional purveyors of power in classroom settings, White males, communicated a greater comfort level in a Afacilitation model≅ than the White males in the research class where the dynamics were mediated by the teacher. This is understandable given that the Afacilitation model≅ would reinforce their place of dominance in the classroom hierarchy. However, the element of positionality must be factored into the study. The students felt that the White male professor did not have an agenda in the seminar class which dealt with issues of race, class, and gender. Yet, they repeatedly referred to the Black woman professor who taught the research class as having a political agenda. Such an analysis does not logically fit the situations and thus we attribute this to the students= perception of the Black woman as a gendered and racialized figure and their perception of the White male professor as a traditional objective disseminator of knowledge without a race, gender, or class position in society. The students wanted more direction from the male professor yet referred to the attempts by the female teacher to make the learning environment participatory with negative comments.

This study showed that the adult education classroom is not the neutral educational site referred to in the literature. Instead it is a duplication of the existing societal relations of power replete with hierarchies and privileges conferred along lines of gender, race, class, sexual orientation and other status markers. The study also suggests that the perspective seen by the teacher is one that is visually impaired by their own viewpoint. During the study, the professors involved practiced cultural therapy (Banks, 1994) by examining and discussing their own cultural assumptions and by providing an analysis of what was occurring in the classroom. While many of their suppositions proved consistent with students= views, especially regarding uncomfortable classroom issues, other incidents that seemed trivial to the professors were significant to the students. This would suggest that positionality is a critical lens for interpreting adult education classroom experiences. In sum, we conclude that the facilitation model does not account for the many power dynamics in these classrooms. We suggest further efforts are needed to better understand how societal power relations affect teaching and learning efforts and what responses educators can make to negotiate these issues

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How Adult Learners Change In Higher Education

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Abstract. Research about the nature of the relationship between perspective transformation and education was conducted among 422 adult learners in higher education. This paper addresses the areas of change recognized, the formal stages of perspective transformation identified, the relationship of the experience in adult learners' education and the implications of the findings.

Introduction

"Developing the whole person," "enabling students to reach their highest potential," "opening new doors of learning" - these are some of the familiar goals of adult education viewed from the perspective of humanistic philosophy. Educators may focus on the change in a student's understanding and application of a specific topic, such as scientific theory, but there are other qualitative changes that are experienced by adult learners as well. This paper reports on research about one such experience of change, perspective transformation, among adult learners in higher education.

Based on this research, the specific experiences of change are many in number, but there is an undercurrent that draws some of them together. This common theme has often been described in the collected data as a "change of perspective" or "a greater openness to new ideas, issues, and views." The literature refers to such significant learning in a variety of ways; Mezirow approaches it as an experience of perspective transformation that he details in ten stages (Mezirow 1978; 1991). He and other adult education theorists (Brookfield, 1987; Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 1991; Tennant & Pogson, 1995), also describe it as a process of liberation from limiting constructs through reflection and action. This is a process that develops a new "perspective meaning" by which to view and interpret life experience.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to extend the theoretical work of Mezirow and others on perspective transformation among adult learners in higher education. This is conceptualized as responding to the following questions: 1) What areas of change do adult learners recognize? 2) What characteristics of perspective transformation do they identify? 3) How is this experience related to their education? and 4) What implications do these findings have for the adult learner, classes, programs, and the adult educator? Answers to these questions will serve to better understand the perspective transformation experience, its relationship to education, and its significance for adult education practice.

Method

Although the philosophical framework for this study is phenomenology, data gathering integrated several methodologies. Information was collected in two phases: through the use of a tool that had free response and objective questions, and follow-up interviews. In Phase One an instrument based on Mezirow's theory was used -- the Learning Activities Survey (King, 1997; in press). Students were asked to read statements that described different aspects of change in their thoughts, views, and perceptions; they selected any of the statements they identified. They were then asked to focus on one such instance of change that was related to their educational experience as an adult. With this in mind, they were asked to describe the change, and state how it related to their education. Follow-up interviews conducted in Phase Two served two purposes: 1) they served to evaluate the preliminary analysis of participants' responses and emergent themes, and 2) they served to expand upon the content of those responses.

In Phase One of the research, 737 questionnaires were distributed to professors in four private colleges who had agreed to participate. These were distributed in packets that included the final instrument, instructions for its use and participant interview sign-up forms. Once completed, the questionnaires and related forms were returned by the professor in a postpaid, self-addressed envelope to the researcher.

Phase Two of the research focused on follow-up interviews. Following the administration and collection of the surveys, eight participants who had volunteered for follow-up interviews were contacted and interviews conducted. The interview questions were structured to more thoroughly examine responses to the questionnaire and to evaluate initial analysis of the data that had been gathered.

Description of the Sample

This study focused on undergraduate adult learners enrolled in private, four-year institutions of higher education in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Characteristic of the student population of many colleges today, many of these students were adult learners who had entered or re-entered higher education several years after their high school experience. The assessment instruments were distributed to students enrolled in evening and "university college" programs at the colleges. Four hundred and seventy-one (471) questionnaires were returned to the researcher. The initial sorting of the responses eliminated surveys that were incomplete or from students who would not qualify as adult learners because they were under the age of 21; the total of these unusable surveys was 49. The total number of surveys used in the statistical analysis of the research was 422.

A most common profile of the students who participated is a white, single female in her 30's and in her sixth semester of undergraduate studies. Forty-eight point eight percent (48.8%) of the respondents were single. Female students comprised 68.7% of the sample, and white participants accounted for 90.2% of the sample. The highest percentage of respondents, 33.7%, was between the ages of 30-39. The mean of semesters of enrollment was 6.836 (M = 6.836), and 73% of the respondents were within their second to eighth semester of study.

Findings and Conclusions

Based on responses to several questions, it was determined that 159, or 37%, of the adult learners identified with descriptions of perspective transformation. Their responses were analyzed to determine emergent themes related to their experience of change and education.

Dimensions of Change

Prominent themes identified in participants' accounts include changes associated with three dimensions of their lives: the social, professional (or work), and the personal (self) dimensions. As they reflected on their experiences of perspective transformation, these over-arching distinctions were supported by many different responses. Examples of these responses described the social dimension of adult learners' lives in increased acceptance of others: "I learned to be more tolerant of other peoples' beliefs and opinions. My way was not the only way to think about things;" "Being and working among people different from myself, allowed me to see the beauty in differences;" "My experience has made me more open to conflicting opinions;" and "I am more open to new experiences, learning about different groups of people." Many respondents specifically stated that the perspective transformation experience "broadened" or "opened" their minds in the social dimension of their lives.

Other respondents addressed professional issues: "My education reinforced my ideas about my new vocation," and "I realized a significant change in my career interests, that I hadn't realized before." Some of the responses about careers focused on professionalization: "Nursing became more responsible, more of a career," and "nursing became more of a career, and less a job."

Characteristic of those who experienced change in the personal dimension of their lives, many adult learners described how their self-images changed: "When I went to school I realized I could use my brain.... School has given me the confidence I never dreamed I would possess;" "I have higher self-esteem, and I found I enjoyed education;" " I feel better about myself, more independent;" and "Classes helped me realize that my reasoning ability is important." A perspective transformation experience that results in such changes in adult learners' views of themselves can have far reaching consequences for the individuals.

Characteristics of Perspective Transformation

Mezirow's (1978; 1991) model of ten stages of perspective transformation served as a guideline from which to examine what aspects of perspective transformation the individuals personally recognized and identified. Pilot studies had resulted in the original ten stages being rephrased so that the adult learners could more easily understand them. These stages, or characteristics, of perspective transformation were selected individually by the students. Of the ten characteristics provided, six of them were cited much more frequently than others, and one was seldom cited.

Mezirow's Stage 2 of "self-examination" dominated the list of which characteristics were identified by the students; it was selected 50% of the time by adult learners who perceived themselves as having a perspective transformation. This evidence supports the theory that critical reflection is a central theme of perspective transformation, and that learners recognize it as such. Five of the other stages were selected 40-46% of the time: Stage 1, "experiencing a disorienting dilemma;" Stage 4, "recognizing that one's discontent is similar to the experiences of others;" Stage 5, "exploring options for new ways of acting;" Stage 8, "provisional trying on new roles;" and Stage 9, "building competence and self-confidence in new roles."

Overall, the adult learners identified with the perspective transformation stages very well; their selections were well distributed throughout the list. The only stage that was considerably lower than the others was a rephrased representation of Mezirow's Stage 3, "critical assessment of epistemic, socio-cultural or psychic assumptions." This was seldom cited, at 21% of the time. Evidently the respondents did not identify with or explicitly recognize this stage. A likely explanation is that the learners' critical examination may have been more directed at individual beliefs and assumptions, rather than those held by society.

A study of relationships among the stages reveals additional insight into the learners' experiences. In pairwise correlations, many of the ten stages correlated with one another: 17 of the 44 pairs had a two-tailed .01 or .0001 level of significance (N = 159). The experience of perspective transformation was not isolated to one or two individual stages or singular pairs of stages; instead, the learners identified with most of the stages. Two generalizations about the patterns of the correlations may be made: 1) most of the later stages of perspective transformation significantly correlate (α = .0001 for each pair) with one another (i.e., Stages 5, 6, 8, 9, 10) and 2) the beginning stage (Stage 1) of the "disorienting dilemma" significantly correlates (α = .0001 or .001) with the earlier stages (i.e., Stages 3, 4, 5, 6). This dichotomy may suggest that adult learners grouped like experiences in reflecting upon perspective transformation experiences.

Education's Contribution to Perspective Transformation

The participants also noted how their education contributed to the transformative experience. Specific contributors to the perspective transformation experience that were repeatedly mentioned are discussions, readings and course content. As in the following examples, discussions were frequently mentioned by the respondents: "If my ideas or beliefs were never questioned or discussed with other classmates or my teacher, then I would have never changed or thought about changing my views or beliefs," and "While participating in class discussions .. [the educational experience] has opened my eyes to different opinions about some ideas." Readings were also cited by the respondents: "Reading assignments and discussion -- these broadened my mind to more objectivity," and "Articles helped me in [adjusting to my] job transition." Other adult learners reported that it was the topic they studied that affected the change. Courses in examining the literature of their profession and "values" courses were also referenced several times.

One adult learner summarizes how critical reflection is part of the process of perspective transformation, "I became more aware of information from the media, my friends, teachers, etc.... I started to think more critically and independently." Others echo this theme as they relate how class activities, course content, readings and dialogue caused adult learners to examine and evaluate their assumptions, beliefs and values: "Discussions lead me to reconsider my values in an ethics class;" "Term papers led me to deep thought about certain issues in my life;" and "(Through) readings and courses I found out so many ideas and ways of thinking." In these instances, such reflection resulted in the learners adopting not only new ideas, but also a new frame of reference (Mezirow, 1997) from which to view their worlds. These responses confirm that learning activities that incorporate the use of critical thinking skills may serve as facilitators of perspective transformation.

Implications

What implications do these findings about perspective transformation have for adult learners, educators, programs and institutions? They may be considered from the three areas of findings: the experience of perspective transformation, the dimensions of change, and contributions of education.

Additional implications for adult education emerge from a consideration of the social, professional and personal dimensions of change that respondents cited. They particularly cited oral and written discussion as instrumental in this aspect of perspective transformation. One consequence of this is that as curricula for classes are planned, adult educators must consider adult learners' needs to contemplate and discuss the social, professional, and personal dimensions of the subject areas. The opportunities and focus for such reflection could be provided through course topics or assignments such as reflective exercises, and position papers. Another consideration is that an environment of openness and safety is important, because many students noted that this was a change they experienced.

The study showed that 37% of respondents had experienced a perspective transformation in relation to their education. These adult learners identified with Mezirow's perspective transformation stages. There was a tendency, however, to group like thoughts and experiences so that some respondents focused on questioning beliefs, assumptions and values while others were focusing on discovering them and trying them out. A practical implication is that adult education should encourage opportunities for adult learners to reflect on the educational experience and its meaning for them. Important considerations would be a welcoming and safe environment, models of critical reflection, and learning activities such as discussions and reflective papers that would incorporate aspects of the experience. Opportunities for these learners to reflect on the perspective transformation experience could encourage adult learners to apply their educational experience to their lives. These adult learners indicated that they were encouraged to consider and critically examine new beliefs and opinions. Knowing how to and actually providing such opportunities in the classroom is up to the instructor.

Three areas emerge as practical applications for adult educators: 1) teaching methods, 2) course structure, and 3) interdisciplinary exchange. First, as mentioned, teaching methods that encourage the development of critical thinking skills should be well represented in the curriculum. Based on this research, discussions and readings are important contributors to the adult learner's perspective transformation experiences. Opportunities to cultivate the exposure to new ideas and to dialogue about divergent opinions should be teaching methods used in adult education courses. The impact of such experiences upon adult learners cannot be overstated. Second, the course structure as exhibited through course objectives, planned learning activities, and the size and location of the class should build upon the need for learners to be more engaged in reflection and dialogue. Small classes, comfortable classrooms and objectives that demonstrate qualitative changes would be reasonable results of such efforts. Third, the courses do not have to stand alone; instead, these activities of dialogue, discussion and writing may be interdisciplinary. For example, coupling courses in current issues and values would highlight the personal and professional application of the material. Many facets of adults' lives contribute to the perspective transformation experience, and application of these suggestions provides more opportunities for adult education to be part of that process.

Conclusion

This study provides a foundation for further research. Four recommendations are presented. First, engaging adult learners in describing the perspective transformation stage by stage should reveal additional insights into the experience. Second, exploration of the dimensions of change is needed; follow-up interviews that focus specifically on the areas cited by the respondents could offer insight into the impact of education on the lives of adult learners. Third, further study of the learning activities that facilitate perspective transformation should go beyond the type of activity and also include guidelines on how to present or conduct such activities well with adult learners. Finally, adult learners might be asked to work collaboratively and solve case studies that center about perspective transformation in education, in this way, the learners' perspective may become clearer to adult educators.

Adult learners within the higher education context are changing as a result of their education. This research characterizes the change in terms of perspective transformation. The findings demonstrate that the perspective transformation stages set forth by Mezirow encapsulates well the experience of adult learners in higher education, and that adult learners especially experience change in their views about the professional, personal and social dimensions of their lives. The research shows that the education experiences of adult learners have an impact upon these changes in their lives. Implications about teaching methods, course structure and interdisciplinary exchange have also been described. Understanding these concepts will enable educators, program directors and educational institutions to better serve the adult learner.

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Piney Woods Country Life School: An Educational Experience of African Americans

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Abstract. This study is a historical analysis of the Piney Woods Country Life School during the Jim Crow era. The study focuses on the school's underlying mission to aid African Americans in gaining financial and political control over their lives through education for self-reliance, self-determination and economic independence by any means necessary.

Introduction

Historical research of the adult education activities of African Americans and African American educators is generally not labeled as "adult education" (Easter, 1995). Generally, the literature relative to the historical development of adult education has ignored this group's intellectual contributions to the knowledge base and its conceptual framework, and it has failed to acknowledge African Americans' participation as both consumers and producers of adult education programs (Colin, 1988)

Africentric and Afrocentric are terms that can be used interchangeably. This study is guided by an Africentric perspective, which posits that the African American experience and history are important and need to be acknowledged (Asante, 1987; Hayes and Colin, 1994). Adult education literature reflects little on the educational activities of African Americans, however adult education played a vital role in African Americans' struggle for freedom (Easter, 1995; Peterson, 1996). Colin (1996) concluded that, "perhaps adult education researchers have not considered the possibility, that in response to the laws and traditions...of Jim Crowism, African Ameripeans ...developed and institutionalized a socioeducational philosophy and ideology that reflected a different world view." (Colin, 1996, p. 42)

This study offers a historical analysis using both primary and secondary sources. The data collection process also included audio and video taped interviews with nine former students or individuals that were involved with the school. Statistical and demographic data were taken from class records and census reports, and artifacts such as photographs and personal memoirs. Official records and documents and relics were used to analyze the ways in which the school reflected the educational experience of African Americans.

Life in Mississippi. Rankin County was organized in 1828 (Mississippi Planning Commission, 1930). According to Harrison (1982), "the Rankin County Piney Woods region, where the Piney Woods Country Life School was located, was considered to have had the poorest land, cattle and people." (Harrison, 1982, p. 13) Harrison (1982) stated that, "the area had been settled by whites from the Carolinas and Georgia who could not afford acreage in the Delta, and by former slaves because of its cheapness, and its being...known as Free Town." (Harrison, 1982, p. 14-15) In 1830, 19 percent of the county's 2,083 population were African Americans of which 99.5 percent were slaves. The African American population rose to 40 percent in 1840; to 45 percent and 52 percent in 1850 and 1860 respectively; and with African Americans in slavery exceeding 99 percent for each period (Mississippi Planning Commission, 1930). In both the 1900 and 1910 census African Americans comprised more than 58 percent of the county's population, and of the 2,802 African American males of voting age, 51 percent were illiterate (Bureau of Census, 1910). Since the illiteracy rate for African American women in the county was not recorded, the illiteracy rate for African American adults may have been less than or greater than the 51 percent recorded. However, it was most likely the latter.

McMillen (1989) refers to the state of Mississippi as, "Jim Crow Mississippi", because education for African Americans "...was separate but never equal."(McMillen, 1989, p. 71) This is quite evident, since according to McMillen (1989), "the state invested most of its meager school dollars from 1890 onward in the education of its white minority, and only provided lip service to the support of a dual education system."(McMillen, 1989, p. 71) This belief was illustrated by A. A. Kincannon, the state's Superintendent of Education, who wrote in 1899: "It will be readily admitted by every white man in Mississippi that our public school system is designed primarily for the welfare of white children of the state, and incidentally for the negro children."(McMillen, 1989, p. 72) Holtzclaw (1984) stated that, "as late as 1962, Mississippi was considered the worst state in the union for sheer savagery", and treatment of African Americans. (Holtzclaw, 1984, p. 72) This belief is echoed by an alumna of the school who recalled, this incident from her childhood:

> I can remember my mother was taking me on the campus for some program...and those Ku Klux Klansman was riding by and I remember she pushed me in the bushes, I was a little girl, to kind of hide out from those folks. But they were on horses and they had hoods over their heads.

Upon being asked about the affects of Jim Crow on the African American community of Rankin County, Mississippi she went on to say:

> We weren't allowed to vote for a long time. You were not allowed and you, you were afraid to vote. It had a great affect on all of us. For the simple reason [pause] it's just [pause] certain things you just couldn't do. Or didn't do. Because you knew you would be in jeopardy if you did it.

According to Holtzclaw (1984), "between 1890 and 1964, the black population of Mississippi was stymied."(Holtzclaw, 1984, p. 71) They were repressed socially, politically and economically. During this period Mississippi had the lowest percentage of African American voters in the south; lynchings were a way of life in the state for them; and because African Americans were disfranchised due to the separate, but equal doctrine, local officials were free to misappropriate state funds designated for the African American (Holtzclaw, 1984; McMillen, 1989). These misappropriated state funds allowed plantation county whites to benefit from African Americans, residing in Mississippi. Moreover, it provided these plantation owners with a labor force presumed to be ignorant, docile and dependent upon whites. Therefore, it is this belief which allowed whites in Mississippi to gain education and economic benefits at the expense of African Americans.

Establishing of the Piney Woods Country Life School. According to the school's archivist, the Rankin County African American community had been talking about organizing a school for twenty-five years before the Piney Woods County Life School was founded. According to Cooper (1989), "no one had ever encouraged them [and] not any of them knew just what to do." (Cooper, 1989, p.53) The first substantial donation the school received was forty acres of land from Edward Nelson Taylor, a former slave (Harrison, 1982; Jones, undated; McMillen, 1989). McMillen (1989) cites an early graduate of the school as saying, "The beginning of Piney Woods was by black people." (McMillen, 1989, p. 97) Despite the social and political climate in Mississippi, the African American community of Rankin County recognized education as their source of empowerment.

Laurence C. Jones (1882-1975) founded piney Woods Country Life School in 1909 in Rankin County, Mississippi. It was founded for African Americans during the Jim Crow era of the separate, but equal doctrine (late 1890's until the enforcement of the United States Supreme Court case of Brown v. Board of Education Topeka). According to Lusane (1992), the separate, but equal doctrine became embedded in the American culture after the United States Supreme Court ruled in the Plessy v. Ferguson court case that segregation could be legally practiced (Lusane, 1992). Lusane (1992) concluded that this, "opened an era of racism and American-style "apartheid" ...that permeated every facet of U. S. society for the next sixty-one years" and thereafter. (Lusane, 1992, p. 17) The enforcement of this practice imposed cultural and societal restrictions upon the African American population, which caused a significant portion of them to live in poverty, illiteracy and peonage.

Jones, an African American, who had just recently graduated from the University of Iowa went to Mississippi to provide education and the chance for a better life to African Americans in the Piney Woods region (Day, 1955). According to Harrison (1989), "he was an advocate of industrial education and believed that manual labor education could help society's bottom rail." (Harrison, 1982, p. 3) Critics of industrial education questioned whether such educational programs equipped African Americans to survive or whether they simply prepared them for continued subservience. These critics believed that if African Americans were to succeed they would need higher education. This belief fostered a tension between those who chose higher education and those who chose vocational education. This tension led to many believing that vocational education was inferior to higher education. Failure to reach a common ground on this issue had many consequences for African Americans (Potts, 1996).

When the school was founded, little if any differences were made between the ways in which children and adults learned. During the early years, the school had many students that were older than the traditional elementary and high school student. According to the schools' archivist:

> ...a lot of times the students' parents would also come to Piney Woods to learn to read and to write and things such as that. Because they had had very little...educational opportunities before Piney Woods came.

A 1942 alumnus of the school recalled, that separate housing accommodations were made available on the first floor of the boys dormitory exclusively for grown men enrolled in the school. According to McMillen (1989), "unembarrassed illiterates of middle age registered as beginners, such as "Pa" Collins, an illiterate field hand, his wife, their seven children, and his mother and father who were among the 200 boarders at Piney Woods Country Life School in 1922." (McMillen, 1989, p. 96) Harrison (1982) further stated that Jones described some of the school's first students as "big gawky country boys and girls who came with their earthly possession in a sack and sometimes with no sack at all." (Harrison, 1982, p. 38) In addition to this, a two-year junior college was establish at the school in 1931 and operated until the early 1960's (Cooper, 1989).

During Jones' administration, not only did the school serve its students, but it also served the African American communities of Rankin and Simpson Counties, as well as Mendenhall County, and often times beyond the school's surrounding communities. Jones and his wife, Grace Allen Jones, organized conferences and workshops to aid in the improvement of farming, housing, nutrition, and health care. The school's archivist stated:

> Mrs. Jones, when she came to Piney Woods in 1912 immediately became active in the community. First establishing Mothers Clubs...she organized local women in the communities, and set up workshops and seminars...on child care, nutrition, housekeeping and all kinds of other issues...she went on to work with the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Beginning in 1920 as their state president. She served as state president from 1920 til 1924, and from 1924 until her death in 1928 she was chairperson of the legislative committee...African American offenders, no matter their age, were automatically sent to Parchman, no matter the offense...they felt that was wrong and that there was a

> need for a reform school, a training school, as they called it...they actually presented a resolution to the state legislature. The legislature approved the resolution, but didn't fund any money to build the school. So, the women by their own efforts...established...the first reform school in Clinton, Mississippi...

The African American community was an integral part of the school with each supporting the other. A 1946 alumnus, after telling how the African American community lived and how his father and others supported the school said, "I was raised in a village and didn't realize it."

Jones efforts within the school and throughout the African American community stressed self-reliance. Students provided most of the school's labor. A 1942 alumnus recalled, "...these buildings here, we built these buildings. Made the bricks." During Jones' administration the school had its own hospital/infirmary, fire department, and post office and operated a farm and several industrial shops. In addition to Jones placing stress on self-reliance, the participants' accounts of their experiences at Piney Woods illuminates the school's unarticulated focus on using education to determine one's own plight, gaining economic independence and achieving these things by any means necessary. The next three sections summarize these factors as forces in their lives.

Education for Self-determination

The Piney Woods School experience had a significant impact on the surrounding African American communities, as well as it students. While it was not highly profiled as such, its underlying mission was to aid African Americans, both those who attended Piney Woods, as well as those in surrounding communities, in gaining financial and political control over their lives. Focus was placed on providing the students with an opportunity to become landowners instead of sharecroppers, to own businesses and to become professionals and educators. While this is not in keeping with the ideology of what opponents believed were the goals of industrial education, it was its unstated mission. This distinction was necessary if white people in Rankin County were to buy into the idea of a school for African Americans. This is quite evident as the comments from John Webster, a local white business person, recounts, "...this was not to be a book larnin' school...he wants to larn'em to do more and better work... This was the type of school that was pleasing to the people…" (Webster, undated, p. 3) One of the participant in this study further recalls:

> ...they were college preparatory courses...they had their own curriculum you didn't choose...I had Algebra, General Science, Biology, Geometry, Physics, Chemistry and of course English and Grammar... These courses prepared me for the science courses I had in Nursing School... We had people come in, role models...they always had people come in that made you realize, I want to move on, to go further...

Another participant recalled:

> ...I remember that Marian Anderson came here to Jackson and they got a [sic] bus load of us and brought us up that we could hear her…and back in the 40's and 50's that was unheard of...he always just tried to instill in us that nobody could take what was up here [pointing to her head] from us, once we got that.

Jones (und) conducted Farmer's Conferences at the school for the community that he described as follows:

> At these Farmer's Conferences...we always try to have a good speaker to inspire the farmers to better living as well as better farming. At each meeting we have those who have succeeded stand up and tell how they happened to buy their first acre of land, or how they raised more corn...or a farmer's wife

> tells how she is helping...In this way we get an exchange of ideas and everybody goes home determined to make a new start. (Jones, undated, p. 49)

Education for Economic Independence

While the Jim Crow era provided African Americans with little or no chance for economic independence, Piney Woods Country Life School offered students choices and alternatives. These choices and alternatives allowed them to establish and maintain economic independence over time. As one alumna states:

> ...around the middle of my tenure...it boiled down that they needed only one Home Ec teacher...I had (pause) learned so many things at Piney Woods I could do just about anything. I was asked if I would do pre-vocational art. And someone else got the Home Ec job, which I'll tell you, was a white person. And I feel that if I had not taken advantage of all that...was offered at Piney Woods I might not have been able to have filled this position of pre-vocational (pause) art.

While another participant said this about Jones:

> ...he still felt that black people had a lot of self improvement they could do...if Black people became economically self-sufficient then that would help a lot of other things to fall in line.

Education "By Any Means Necessary"

Though Piney Woods Country Life School, Jones advanced the social, political and economic status of African Americans in Rankin County. One participant in the study said, "...he was always a socially active person but never really a very political person..." While Jones was not known to have actively protested the treatment of African Americans, he did voice his discontent in his earlier writings. Jones (und) stated:

> The pathway of a colored man who would help solve the problem of industrially educating the ten million colored Americans is by no means always pleasant. Walking the hard pavements day after day…is not an easy job…and especially when your skin is the wrong color, you have a double task of gaining the confidence of the people you meet. It means if you…become thirsty or hungry to keep from being told, "We don't serve colored people," which takes the ginger…so necessary for success out of one, you must stop work and go…where the colored people live…otherwise crucify your thirst or hunger…It means sleeping in the depot, sometimes all night, for hotels are generally "full" if a colored person wishes to sleep (Jones, undated, p. 57-58).

He provided the means by which his students could achieve self-determination and economic independence, so that they would eventually have a voice and become enlightened and active citizens in Mississippi, as well as anywhere in America.

The former students who participated in this study are each currently actively involved within their communities and the state of Mississippi. Jones may not have been viewed as a political person, but his role as an educator and his involvement in the community illustrates that he was extremely political during this era in America. While it may appear to some, that he took the road of least resistance, the curriculum he chose for the students at Piney Woods Country Life School focused on providing them with whatever was necessary to ensure their success, in whatever job or life goals they envisioned for themselves.

Conclusion

While the political climate in America for African Americans has been one of constant struggle in education, Jones viewed the educational process as a vehicle to gain self-determination, economic independence, and a voice. Moreover, industrial education could be used to aid African Americans in becoming self-reliant. In spite of the negative criticism about industrial education, Jones persisted in his belief that education was essential to students' ability to achieve social, political, economic and control over their lives. The participants in this study reflected these ideals in their life choices and beliefs. They view their experiences at Piney Woods as having afforded them with a chance to move up economically from the "bottom rail". Piney Woods Country Life School is an example of how African Americans viewed and used education, at all levels, to achieve in the American society.

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Examining the Impact of Formal and Informal Learning On the Creativity of Women Inventors

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Abstract. This research is about women inventors and how they feel education impacted their creativity. Data gathered strongly supports existing data which theorizes that "women's learning" (e.g. connected learning and relational learning) is different from men's. Creative women speak out about how they felt education impacted their creativity and what they would like to see education do to increase creativity and self-esteem in girls and women.

Research Methodology

Women inventors were chosen at random from a list obtained from the U.S. Patent Office. Nine hundred thirty (930) utility patents were granted to women in the year 1995. This represents approximately 8% of all patents. Three hundred women were randomly chosen and packets including an introductory letter, release forms, creativity test and demographics questionnaire were sent. Ultimately 37 packets were returned completed. These 37 women were again contacted and asked to continue with a personal interview addressing specifically, remembered episodes in their formal and informal educational experiences that helped or hindered their creativity? The interview would consist of their describing or telling two stories or experiences they had in education which they felt impacted their creativity. One story was from a formal educational experience and one story was to be from an informal learning experience. The term "impacted" was defined as "helped or hindered". Of the 37 women, thirteen agreed to continue with the indepth interview portion of the study. Specifically, the qualitative aspect of this study reported the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of 13 women inventors, in the context of formal and informal education.

Design of the study

The study was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. First a quantitative method was used to identify the level of creativity of the women inventors, specifically the *Brief. Demonstrator - Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking (BD-TTCT)* which is a self-administered version of Torrance's test. It measures the four areas of fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration. Another important aspect of Torrance's tests of creative thinking is that studies have shown them to have no gender or age bias of any sort.

The second portion of the study was qualitative in nature and utilized an indepth behavioral event interviews *(BEI)*. Thirteen of the original 37 women, who took the creativity test, volunteered to be interviewed. The women received a copy of what they would be asked so they could be thinking about their answers. They were asked to tell two true stories that happened to them. One about an *informal* educational experience and one about a *formal* educational experience which they felt impacted their creativity in some way. They were also asked what they felt education could do to increase creativity in girls and women.

Background of the Problem

For centuries men have considered women incapable of achieving creative success (Stanley, 1993). Creative works of women tend to be underrated or ignored in history (Showell & Amram, 1995). Even though women are making positive strides toward equality, it is possible that traditional educational practices have kept women from excelling in many areas (Ochse, 1991; Piirto, 1991).

Statement of the Problem

There is considerable empirical evidence which suggests that formal, as well as informal education, may neither have fully met the needs of women nor promoted creativity through the teaching/learning process. Further, there appears in the literature the realization that there is a lack of a deep understanding of how formal and informal education has impacted the creativity of women. This is problematic not only for reasons of gender equity but also because there is evidence that formal and informal education are not contributing to women being successful in the emerging postindustrial workplace and society.

Purpose of the Study

This study has two purposes. The first purpose is to ascertain, through a quantitative approach, the extent to which the *BD-TTCT* establishes that women inventors are in fact creative, as defined by Torrance (1965). It can be argued that women inventors are creative by the very nature of their having attained a patent. However, attaining *BD-TTCT* scores from women inventors will assist in providing insight into how their creativity compares to other populations where norm scores have been established.

The second purpose of this study is to develop a deeper understanding of how formal and informal education has impacted (ie. helped or hindered) the creativity of women inventors. Specifically, the qualitative aspect of this study will report the thoughts, feelings and behaviors of women inventors regarding the context of their formal and informal education.

A"*process*"definition of creativity . For the first quarter of the century creativity was studied only in the arts. Then in 1926 Wallas reported the first study of the creative *process* of an individual. A *process* is defined (by Webster) as "a series of actions or changes; a method of operation". By making a process out of it, creativity could be broken down into a series of steps, which could then be taught. In 1962, E. Paul Torrance published his first book on creativity as a process. In 1965 Torrance defined creativity in such a way that puts it into everyday living and did not reserve it for rarely achieved heights. His definition is the one used in this study. According to Torrance (1965),

> Creativity is a process of sensing difficulties, problems, gaps in information, missing lements, something askew; making guesses and formulating hypothesis about these deficiencies; evaluating the testing these guesses and hypothesis; possibly revising and retesting them; and finally communicating the results (p.8).

Nearly all investigations of creativity in the literature have focused on the creativity of men. At best, generalizations based on male samples have been assumed to be applicable to females; at worst, creative functioning in women simply has been ignored altogether or eliminated from consideration. Historically it has been presumed that the creativity of women occurs with such insufficient frequency as to not be worth studying (Rieger, 1983).

History of women inventors. Great women, sometimes overcoming enormous social obstacles, have made contributions that have changed the world and continue to change our lives. In examining women in American history, we find women who have made vast contributions to society. American settlers had to be extremely inventive and creative to survive. The success of the colonies depended on the creativity of its settlers, both men and women. In the early 1700s women did work not generally thought of as feminine. They farmed, operated mills and learned trades. But as colonies grew, women's roles became more restricted (Stanley, 1993). Men formed governments based on the "old countries" in Europe while women were expected to center their activities on their husband and children. Once a woman had children, she was no longer viewed as a person in her own right. Therefore the history of women inventors is also the history of women's changing roles in society (Stanley, 1993).

As the social order of America became more established, it became more difficult for women who showed an interest in machines or other technology to be taken seriously (Stanley, 1993). Women were educated in the manners and morals of polite society and in the care of home and children while men studied science, technology and politics (Panabaker, 1991).

During the 1800s, most women's lives were filled with long hours of milking cows, churning butter, washing, cooking and cleaning. They also gave birth to children and raised them, and often worked in the fields. If a woman took time to invent something new, it was usually a way to ease her burdens (Panabaker, 1991).

In 1870, a woman named Margaret Knight invented a flat-bottomed paper bag folding machine. But Charles Annan, a man who had seen her models, beat her to the patent office. She filed a lawsuit against him claiming he had copied her idea. His defense against her was that she could not have invented the machine because a woman could not understand machinery. Fortunately, many people told the court they had seen or been involved with her in various phases of her work and she won her case and received one of the first patents granted to a woman (Macdonald, 1992).

Current status of gender equity in curriculum. In the late 1980's the American Association of University Women conducted a poll of 3,000 school children. The association's subsequent report *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America* (1990), declared that girls face a pervasive bias against them from preschool through high school. The AAUW study *How Schools Shortchange Girls* (1995) further revealed that girls and boys are not treated equally in public schools and that they do not receive the same quality, or even quantity, of education. The key concerns for girls that surfaced in these two studies by the AAUW include: (l) low self-esteem, (2) low academic achievement, and (3) low aspirations and career goals.

Because of the curriculum used in education, the knowledge base, the examples seen in books and materials which are created by and are primarily about the white middle-class male experience, white middle-class males are more likely to be successful (Tisdell, 1993). The AAUW report of 1995 confirmed that one reason girls suffer from problems of low self-esteem, low academic achievement and low aspirations and career goals may be due to the curriculum.

Gender bias in our educational philosophy. Gender bias is occurring in education (Gilligan, 1993; AAUW, 1995). This means that education is not doing enough to ensure epistimological equity. Plato's account of the education of women is in Book V of *The Republic*, yet many texts and anthologies omit all references to Book V. Plato's proposal was for all who are suited to rule should, regardless of sex, be given the same education. These texts are either not mentioned or are distorted significantly (Pagano, 1994).

Another "father" of educational philosophy, Eric Erickson, admitted that his eight stages were for males when he said that the sequence is a bit different for women. A woman, according to Erickson, holds her identity in abeyance as she prepares to attract the man by whose name she will be known, by whose status she will be defined, the man who will rescue her from emptiness and loneliness by filling her inner space. Despite Erickson's observations of sex differences, his chart of life-cycle stages remains unchanged (Gilligan, 1994). Where are the "mothers" of educational philosophy?

Research Question #1. To what extent do women inventors demonstrate creativity as measured by the *Brief Demonstrator - Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking*? Eighty-five percent (85%) of the women in this study demonstrated above average to very high creativity. This suggests that women who hold utility patents are in fact creative and further validates the *BD-TTCT* as a useful instrument for identifying creative strengths of adults.

Research Question #2. How has formal and informal education been perceived by women inventors to have impacted their creativity?

Interviews were tape recorded, transcribed and coded by categories. Six categories emerged from the data and were listed in no particular order. These six categories fell into both formal and informal experiences, which both helped and hindered creativity. The six common categories were:

#1 - Learning experiences that contributed to these women's creativity tended to occur in unstructured environments regardless of whether the educational setting was formal or informal;

#2 - Learning experiences, both formal and informal, that contributed to these women's creativity tended to be hands-on experiences that were meaningful to their everyday lives;

#3 - Learning experiences that contributed to these women's creativity tended to be both cooperative and self-directed;

#4 - Learning experiences that contributed to these women's creativity tended to be facilitated by a nurturing teacher who role modeled creativity;

#5 - Women inventors had some definite ideas about how education could promote creativity and therefore increase self-esteem and improve the self-concept of women; and

#6 - Women inventors consistently indicated that gender discrimination hindered their creativity.

Discussion

Gender equity must be consciously addressed. Gender equity must be consciously addressed, rather than dismissed as "there is no inequity in my classroom." All teachers do it. Even women teachers. We have had no other role-modeling. Teachers must strive to give equal time to women in class, to allow women to have experiential opportunities in which learning becomes relevant and relational, and allow for groupwork (Gilligan, 1993; 1994).

Learning environments favored by women are less structured. Adults have long been believed to be self-directed learners (Knowles, 1980; Merriam & Caffarella,1991). On the other hand, women have been reported consistently in the literature as being cooperative learners (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule 1986). Reports from the women in this study support both findings; they preferred to be self-directed and also preferred to work in cooperative environments. This can be accomplished in a less structured educational environment. A less structured environment allows for flexibility in which a person may work alone or may collaborate with others, as the need arises.

Learning environments are rarely totally structured or totally unstructured. Most learning environments fall somewhere along a continuum of structure. Teachers who make these decisions have some constraints, yet it is possible to make even a formal educational environment one which is less structured and conducive to exploration and discovery. It is the environment that is unstructured enough to allow for creativity in the classroom that the women, in this study, appreciated.

Research also shows that men can benefit from women's learning styles. Women's learning doesn't have to stifle or hinder men's learning in the classroom. Research has shown that cooperative and less structured learning environments, preferred by women, seem to be appropriate for men as well as women (Ochse, 1991). When men are exposed in the classroom setting, to the teaching styles preferred by women, they (the men) have shown no decrease in learning (Rosser, 1990; Ochse, 1991; Piirto, 1991) and have actually benefited from these practices (Ochse, 1991).

Nurturing teachers are important. Women in this study were unified in their belief that nurturing is a vital ingredient in women's learning. Stories, which referred to a teacher as very nurturing, indicated that the teacher had also been creative in their teaching. A teacher's care and nurturing was perceived as being a critical issue in stories of positive impact. Even if the woman had only one nurturing teacher, this one experience was perceived to have made a significant positive impact on her creativity.

Whether because of biological or sociological reasons, women seem to possess a unique power to nurture. This nurturing power can be used not only with loved ones and teaching our children, but also to build and lead teams in stressful everchanging work environments.

Women need to learn strong communication skills. We need to let others know our talents, abilities and accomplishments, by learning to powerfully communicate our ideas (Lerner-Robbins, 1996). Traditionally it has been the man who speaks, in church for instance. Women may have never had any opportunity to claim this power.

Issues of self-esteem. Many of the women in this study admitted to having low self-esteem. Those who brought the issue up said that education could do a lot to increase the self-esteem of young girls by treating them equally in the classroom. Not labeling or pigeon-holing women into pre-determined slots, simply by virtue of their gender, will do a lot for helping women to have a positive self-concept.

Conclusion

Women must be given equal opportunity in education. This means that educators must create opportunities that do not currently exist. Educators must teach creatively. A good curriculum guide for using creativity in education is *The Incubation Model of Teaching* (Torrance & Safter, 1990). The Incubation Model curriculum is not gender-biased (Goff, 1997).

Opportunities for women's learning typically do not exist in traditional university education. I have been a student for many years and I know of only one Adult Education class that used the Incubation Model. The class had more male than female students. This class was loved by all the students and got excellent evaluation comments such as "Best class I ever had" and "I learned so much in this class!" The professor, although qualified and available, was never asked to teach this class, or any other class for Adult Education, again. Obviously universities are set in their old ways. Most universities are traditional settings which focus on structured learning. This has been effective for males but has neglected, and continues to neglect female learners.

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Preaching What We Practice: Theories-in-Use in Community Development

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Abstract. This paper examines theories-in-use among community development practitioners and attempts to bridge the schism between practice and theory by articulating implicit theories utilized in practice.

This paper began with a conversation between two colleagues, one from the U.S. and one from Australia. Both are community development professors, involved in practice and theory creation. During the conversation, the two professors reflected on a community development conference both were attending. They realized that most of the presentations were made by people involved in community outreach and service and that more information was presented about how to do things than about theories or models. They questioned whether it could be assumed from the conference that community development professionals do not utilize theory to guide their practice.

The co-authors of this paper began a series of reflective discussions about whether this might be true. Neither were willing to accept this premise. We believe that 1) practitioners do not take the time to write for journals about their community development efforts, and 2) practitioners will tell you that they are too busy doing community development to discuss much of their work with colleagues. However, we also believe that practitioners do have theories and models that guide their community development efforts. It was this assumption that caused us to conduct interviews with several community development professionals. Each of the people interviewed have extensive outreach experience as they represent a large southeastern university. We wanted to find out what practitioners say about theory and its relationship to practice.

Purpose Statement

The actions of community developers are designed to assist adults to reflect, analyze, problem solve, and eventually implement strategies to solve problems in their communities (Vella, 1994). These can range anywhere from how to solve economic problems and invite appropriate industries to their region to addressing environmental concerns. Schön (1983, 1991) has documented the need for professionals to *know what* and *know why* about their practice. Do they *know what* they are doing? Have they looked at the short and long-term impact of their practice, especially related to change? Have they engaged learners or clients in discussing the short and long range impacts? Have they analyzed the impact of change on organizations and systems that serve clients and communities? From an adult education and community development perspective *knowing why* is also important (Schön, 1983, 1991). Why is change needed? Is the need or pressure for change coming from outside the community or from demands external to the adult learner? Are communities, clients, and learners discussing the need for change themselves?

Mezirow (1990) has suggested that individuals and groups may have a disorienting dilemma that they identify through dialogue and discussion. Some call this an *ugly baby* in community development practice . The point is that groups know there are dilemmas in the community that need attention, e.g., abandoned cars in neighborhoods, substandard housing, poorly-kept businesses, lack of jobs, or environmental issues. Community members have intimate knowledge of the problems in the community and they also have creative and practical solutions to addressing these needs (Moore & Brooks, 1996).

Our basis and some of our biases for proposing this approach are that adults have knowledge of their environment, they know the political structure of the community, and they are eager to learn how to put their interests, knowledge and skills to work in making their community a better place to live for residents. They also demand that a broad cross-section of the community be involved in dialogue, discussion, sharing, problem posing, problem solving, and the action-learning and planning process (Watkins & Marsick, 1993).

Many practitioners in community development work from implicit theories and may not articulate a relationship between their theories-in-use (Hunt, 1987) and theories in existing literature. While they may be accused of being *theory-lite*, in fact, practitioners utilize literature-based theory more than they talk about and may alter or combine theories. Alternatively, they may be creating theory, but this information is often lost because practitioners do not take the time to record it. The theoretical basis from which they work are neither documented, nor disseminated. The purpose of this study is to discuss theories-in-use with several experienced practitioners to examine what informs their practice, in essence theorizing from practice to literature. This study attempts to bridge the schism between practice and theory by articulating implicit theories utilized in practice. This research serves several functions: 1) to better understand what informs the actions of practitioners--not only what they do, but why, 2) to document and disseminate the theoretical basis for practice in community development, 3) to communicate to peers, communities, administrators, and regulators what practitioners do, and 4) possibly to facilitate training of new community developers/adult educators.

Research Design

In the Fall of 1997, we interviewed ten individuals who work as community development specialists or adult education professors providing group process and technical assistance to communities. Four females and six males were included who ranged in age from 38 to 66 years. All respondents had experience in working with both urban and rural communities in the southeastern United States. Five had international experience. Seven had doctorate degrees and three did not, although one of these three is currently working on their doctorate.

Each open-ended interview began with the question: *What guides your practice?* At times, this question was clarified with a further question: *Are there theories, models, or frameworks that guide what you do when you are working with community groups?* Each interview lasted approximately one hour. The first several interviews focused on literature that participants were reading, the next several focused on metaphors of practice, and during the last few interviews there was more emphasis on reflective practice, and possibly a more philosophical approach to community development. The interview approach was modified to focus more on what practitioners actually do and what guides them in that, which may or may not be based in literature.

Interview notes were copied for each author and then reviewed. The co-authors discussed the interviews as they were conducted and each author wrote brief summaries identifying themes and ideas. At the end of the interview process, the authors discussed the summaries, identified additional items, topics, or themes. Charts illustrating demographics, ideas, metaphors, issues, and themes were prepared and checked with the original transcripts for accuracy. Pseudonyms were created for all individuals. We refer to the people we interviewed as practitioners, participants, or community developers. Pseudonyms are used when a comment represents the ideas of one or just a few participants. However, if something represents the feelings of the majority, we refer simply to practitioners.

Themes/Results

Two separate categories of themes emerged, one regarding actual steps used in practice and one regarding characteristics of practitioners. Discussions with practitioners suggested they used similar processes in working with groups beginning with sharing a vision, then developing action plans, and finally not neglecting to report back and follow up. It is first necessary to determine the problem(s) or need(s) in the community and most practitioners felt it was useful to have community groups tell their story. Storytelling creates synergy and allows people to talk about their successes, and express their hopes and fears for the future. Audrey, Bill, and Jim suggested using a variety of reporting techniques to have clients describe their situation. What were they proud of and what needed attention? Also, practitioners expressed interest in finding out from clients what they wanted to change or what they wanted their community to look like in the future. Jim, Sam, and Ed described techniques and activities used to encourage clients to envision the future. Community members were invited to document the gap between the future and the current situation and Maureen, Gail, and Gary have sent community members out with cameras to photograph what they wanted to preserve and what they wanted to eliminate or transform. This provides the impetus to develop action plans with concrete projects to implement. Bill, Sam, and Maureen pointed out that what is often missing from this type of change approach is following up on what has been implemented. Were the futures ideas achieved? What really changed? What barriers were encountered and broken down? Also, how do people in communities find out about what happened? What gets reported about changes? These were some of the process issues related to practitioners' discussions and descriptions of their community development work.

Complex Communities and Knowledge. Practitioners recognize the complexity of communities as well as conflicting views and interests. Far more than a locality, they view communities as multifaceted, consisting of complex relationships. Several practitioners spoke of trying to get as many different voices into the discussion as possible. They also spoke of trying not to round up the 'usual suspects,' in other words those most likely to speak, but to include new faces and voices representative of the broader community.

Participants resisted using an expert-model, in which practitioners approach a community saying, *we are here to help you* (Roncoli and Flora, 1995). When invited to work with a community, practitioners felt it imperative to take time to listen, to learn, to question, to share, to discuss, and be immersed in the community's activities to understand what is going on. Bill, Sam, and Maureen said it is important to listen and acknowledge that people have understanding of their communities and needs. Sam said you must listen to people before you add, and then draw out their knowledge of the problem and discuss alternative solutions. When trying to bring people into a meeting, Bill spoke of the need to listen to many different voices, and build in tension and conflict on issues early so that all aspects of a problem are in view. Gary pointed out that everybody lives downstream from someone. It does not make to sense to focus on one aspect of an issue or exclude the needs of a group within the community. There is evidence that marginalized people are beginning to resist the placement of destructive industries in their community and that, sometimes, more privileged people will join them recognizing that what affects their neighbors will affect them as well. People from different backgrounds can provide different knowledge. Kanter (1995) refers to this in her description of *locals* and *cosmos* in which long-term local people have a sense of place and historical knowledge, but cosmopolitan newcomers can provide a sense of the big picture as well as needed skills. Both are needed for communities to flourish.

Another reason it is important to involve everyone in the community, instead of working with the recognized power brokers, is so that all aspects of the problem and consequences of proposed solutions can be addressed. Many times, practitioners are invited to work with a group and find members of the group already believe they have diagnosed the problem and come up with a solution. A practitioner may be brought in to facilitate the desired change, however, community developers can assist communities to resist inappropriate simplification and to refrain from imposing false and premature solutions (Moore & Brooks, 1996; Wheatley, 1992).

Imperative for Inclusiveness. Practitioners felt an imperative for inclusiveness. Communities have many different personalities, special interests, needs for improvements, and resources. Communities are complex social groups that produce conflict over ideas, proposals, and needs for change. Because of their complexity and many different voices it is important that a broad cross-section of the community be represented in efforts discussing issues and suggesting changes for the future. Inclusiveness also demands that community members listen to each other and try to understand different perspectives. Practitioners felt so strongly about the need for inclusiveness that they would opt out of working with the group or community if people were being excluded from the community development effort.

Use of Metaphor. Many practitioners utilized metaphors extensively. While these may be taken to be folksy, they function as powerful and graphic expressions of ideas. Metaphors encapsulate information quickly and efficiently and are often used to generate reactions and clarify issues and ideas. Examples of metaphors include the idea from Chuck about an orchestra in which several different instrument groups perform together much like different interests and needs in communities interact to make up the whole. The community that can coordinate its many different interests into a program or plan of action can also create an enjoyable place to live and work. Other images such as a *dog sled team* (if you are not the lead dog or leader in the community, the scenery never changes) or *hardening of the categories* (in which people are unwilling to enlarge their understanding of issues) are metaphors that communicate the state or possibility of change in communities.

Metaphors need to be used selectively since they may define who is and who is not a group member. Understanding metaphors requires cultural knowledge. Words have different meanings in different contexts and community development practitioners need to be aware of this since metaphors can have intended and unintended results. It is quite possible to inadvertently exclude or insult people by inappropriate use of metaphors and language. In addition, community development practitioners learn to time their use of metaphor judiciously. Overuse tends to reduce impact. Nevertheless, careful use of metaphor seemed to be a powerful way of expressing practice ideas and needs.

Integrity as a Guide for Practice. Several practitioners spoke of integrity as a guide for practice. Maureen captured the essence of her practice in these propositions:

1. projects should be meaningful; effort should be oriented toward producing real and sustainable solutions to pressing problems,
2. client groups should be inclusive and represent the community,
3. projects should involve something to which the answer is not yet known,
4. projects should be seen in light of a broader context.

Practitioners suggested they felt an obligation to inform and educate clients about community issues. Practitioners develop knowledge of environmental issues, as well as political and social costs, which should be shared. Because of their extensive experience and knowledge, Maureen, Sam, and Bill felt a need to inform community groups about issues from a broader perspective. Abbie said, 'we are required to educate so people can make informed choices.' Chuck believed practitioners need to 'keep bringing up the big picture.' Community members need both a sense of place and a sense of context (Kanter, 1995). Practitioners spoke of having a larger contextual perspective on community and often had knowledge of how local, state, or national regulations could affect a community's initiatives. As part of the educative process, practitioners spoke of encouraging community groups to think of how their local problems are interconnected with regional, national, or international issues and problems. Practitioners emphasized that this was not intended to create barriers to community action, but was meant to assist people to think more deeply. about their problems and ideas.

Theory as a Guide for Practice. Jean indicated that, 'practice is guided by fragments of theories. There is a unifying theme, but not a single theory.' Rarely did practitioners refer to using the 'Smith model' or the 'Jones model.' People used individualized blends of theories and instead of being theory-*lite,* they are actually theory-*rich* with the ability to pick and choose across backgrounds, interests, purposes and the literature. These practitioners brought knowledge of many different literatures because of their education in forestry, environmental design, communications, geography, recreation, public policy, adult education, agricultural economics, sociology, and organizational development. In addition, many are widely read and continue to look for new information and sources for ideas. Serendipitous discussions with colleagues with different backgrounds occurs during travel or in hallways which stimulates people to read more in areas they may not have inquired into before. Cross-fertilization occurs during discussion of problems and issues, thereby increasing the range of individual practitioners. It appears that more seasoned practitioners have access to a greater range of models. Abbie said that she has become more thoughtful about her work over time and questioned whether this was related to experience and/or the development of some wisdom. Theories-in-use seemed to be composed of literature-based theory, field experience and practice, practitioners' beliefs about communities, and serendipitous, intermittent exchanges with colleagues (See Figure 1). In all cases, practitioners are seeking ways to make things work to accomplish the goals of a particular community or situation.

The purposes may be economic development, community organizing, recreation education, or environmental protection. Despite different areas of practice, what draws practitioners together are several unifying concepts: 1) recognition of the importance of inclusiveness and collaboration, 2) recognition of the fact that people have knowledge and experience and can use that for problem-solving, 3) recognition of the complexity of communities, and 4) the importance of organizing for action and following up on action plans. Practitioners utilized flexible, complex approaches to community development and saw many issues as interconnected. Rather than community development practitioners failing to have a theoretical base for their work, the people we interviewed utilized a sophisticated blend of theory, integrating literature from many different disciplines with extensive experience working with communities.

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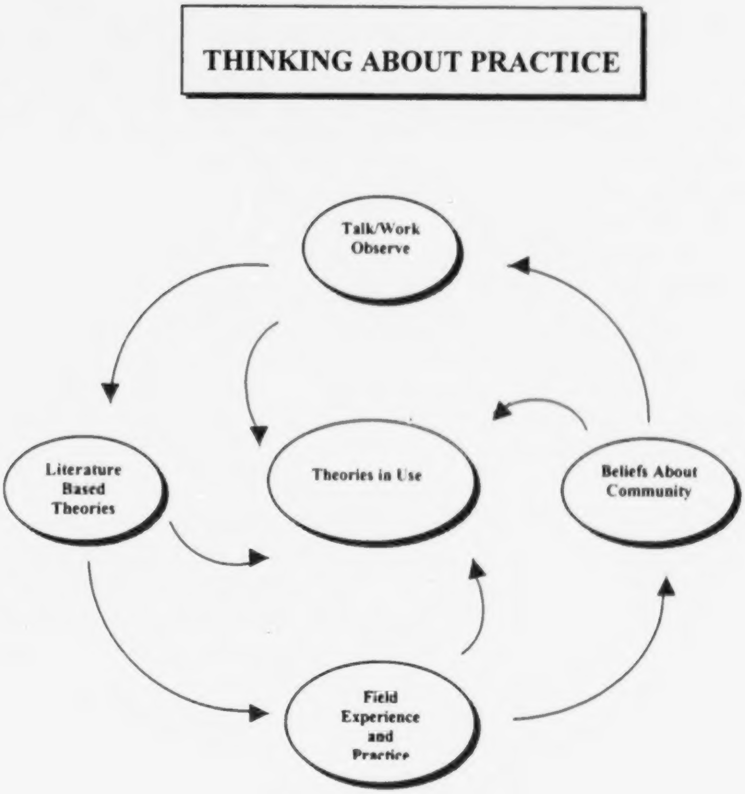
Figure 1: Thinking About Practice



Are Resources and Support Necessary or Just Nice in Post-program Application?

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Abstract. This study uses matched survey data (n=1356) to explore the relationship between post-educational application and five contextual variables. Significant positive associations were found between contextual and outcome variables; significant differences were found between post and follow-up ratings of contextual variables. What happens after adult education programs may have more effect on post-educational application than what happens during educational programs.

Study Purpose and Significance

This study explores the relationship between selected practice variables and the application of learning following short-term educational programs. Is there a relationship between contextual variables in practice and post-training application? At the end of training, to what extent do learners anticipate post-training contextual supports? Is there a difference between anticipated contextual supports and those reported following training?
Do post-training contextual supports vary by participant or training characteristics?

While most adult education intends an impact beyond organized programs, adult education is not the sole influence on whether and how learning is applied following educational programs. By understanding the post-educational experience, learners and educators can better prepare for it and evaluators can use more appropriate variables to assess the effects of adult education. "Knowing only that intended effects were not achieved is not instructive for future program planning" (Weiss, 1972, p.39). An understanding of effects needs to be informed by an understanding of process.

Background

The opportunity to study resources and other contextual variables as obstacles or supports to post-educational application grew out of an evaluation of the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) Training System (CTS). Over 9000 participants attended one of 250 separate events held across the U.S. over a five-year period. The 25 different kinds of programs offered by the CTS ranged from one to five days in length. They were clustered into three general types of training: (1) community partnerships, e.g., local coalitions, multi-sector agencies, (2) cultural-specific, e.g., Gathering of Native Americans, Hispanic/Latino Workshops, and (3) health professionals, e.g., doctors, nurses, counselors. Despite difference among trainings, all intended to facilitate post-educational application: "The intent of all CTS services is that people who participate in training and technical assistance will apply what they learn on the job or in their community" (US Department of Health and Human Services, 1995). Evaluation of the CTS, therefore, focused in part on post-educational application of learning, as well as the factors that influence this process.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review:

The literature review sought to identify factors and variables which facilitate or hinder practice change in the post-educational environment. In adult education, the Cervero framework proposed four factors that influence performance following continuing professional education (CPE): individual professional, CPE program, proposed change, and social system. The CPE program and individual professional factors were found to have the strongest influence on performance; the social system the least (Cervero & Rottet, 1984). Because the authors acknowledge limitations with the social system variables used in that study, their findings encourage rather than discourage further exploration of the role of the social system in post-educational application of learning.

Other literatures identifying post-educational influences on practice change – transfer of training, diffusion, implementation, knowledge utilization, and application – have been reviewed elsewhere (Ottoson, 1997a) and are only summarized here. The transfer of training literature suggests multiple influences on post-training application including resources, supervisor and peer responses, context similarity, and opportunity for transfer. The diffusion literature indicates that the adaptation or rejection of an innovation or idea is determined not just by the nature of the innovation, but by its cultural context. The implementation literature identifies organizational structures, sources and distribution of power, opportunity to act, and resource distribution as influences on change. Current research shows differences between men and women in the kinds of contextual supports associated with application. For example, in a study of health professionals resources were associated with application among female respondents, but not among males (Patterson, forthcoming).

The Application Process Framework (APF) (Ottoson, 1995) was used to guide the survey methodology of the national CTS evaluation. The APF identifies five factors which influence post-educational application, including characteristics of the (1) educational program, (2) the idea or innovation to be applied, (3) the predisposition of the learner, and the (4) enabling and (5) reinforcing factors of the practice context. In this study, contextual variables are understood to be enabling and reinforcing influences on practice.

Research Design and Methodology:

This study draws on data from questionnaires administered to CTS participants over a two-year period and matched across time. These questionnaires were developed in a participatory process among program developers, policy makers, and evaluators and analyzed for content validity. The dependent variable was the extent to which participants *Increased substance abuse prevention activities* following the training. This measure of application aligned with policy intent of training outcomes. Five independent variables, drawn from the literature and negotiated among stakeholders, were studied: *sufficient resources, encouragement from others, opportunity to apply learning, organizational support, and authority to act.* The extent to which these five variables were anticipated in the practice environment was asked at the end of CTS programs; the extent to which these variables were experienced in practice was asked again on the two-month follow-up questionnaire. All six variables were measured on a five-point scale were 1= *not at all* and 5= *substantially.*

Questionnaires were administered to all CTS participants at the beginning of training (n=7915), at the immediate end of training, and mailed two or more months following training. Overall the matched rate for pre/post questionnaires was 78% (n=6171); the matched rate for pre/follow-up questionnaires was 20% (n=1553); the matched rate for pre/post/follow-up questionnaires was17% (n=1356). Matched rates varied by time and type of training, with the health professional training having the highest matched rates and cultural specific trainings the lowest.

The representativeness of the sample of matched respondents across three points in time was tested against all those who answered the pre-questionnaire on nine variables, i.e., education, gender, team attendance, extent of prevention focus in their job, and perceptions of the following: usefulness of the training, anticipated resources, intent to apply learning, extent of knowledge and skill gained from training, and extent to which the need to do their job differently was a reason for participation.

Following descriptive analyses, T-tests were used to determine differences between end of program and follow-up ratings of the five independent variables and the dependent variable. Correlations were used to explore the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. One-way ANOVA was used to determine whether the availability of post-training contextual supports varied by gender or type of training. Level of significance was set at p=.01 for all tests.

Limitations of the study include survey response rate, the narrowly defined application outcome variable, and the potential ambiguity of some contextual items, such as "resources."

Findings and Conclusions

The matched sample of respondents at pre/post/follow-up was found to be significantly different from unmatched respondents on two of the nine variables tested, i.e., they had a higher level of education, χ^2 (4, n=7895) =145.6, p = .00, and they were more likely to have attended as teams or with others, χ^2 (2, n=7688) =11.74, p = .00.

Ratings on dependent and independent variables at post and follow-up are found in Table 1, along with T-test results. Correlations among and between independent and dependent variables are found in Table 2.

Table 1.

Post and follow-up ratings and T-tests for dependent and independent variables

Variable	n matched	post	sd	fl-up	sd	T	df	sig
Increase substance abuse prevention activities	1041	4.03	.98	3.03	1.25	25.55	1041	.000
Sufficient resources	1283	3.53	1.03	3.28	1.07	7.52	1282	.000
Authority to act	1278	3.76	1.01	3.47	1.07	8.91	1277	.000
Encouragement from others	1114	3.67	1.01	3.43	1.10	6.57	1113	.000
Opportunity to apply	1219	3.93	.90	3.64	1.01	9.32	1218	.000
Organizational support for changes implied by workshop	1234	3.66	1.00	3.35	1.06	9.37	1233	.000

Table 2.
Correlations among and between independent and dependent variables

	IncATOD	Resources	Authority	Encourage	Opportunity	Org. Support
IncATOD	1.00	.176**	.319**	.281**	.344**	.413**
Resources			.410**	.564**	.475**	.437**
Authority				.561**	.709**	.672**
Encourage					.630**	.615**
Opportunity						.635**
Org.Support						

** = correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

One-way ANOVA revealed no significant differences between male and female respondents on the extent to which the five contextual variables existed in the post-training context: *sufficient resources* F (1,1279) = 1.80, p = .18, *authority to act* F (1,1280) = 1.81, p = .18, *encouragement from others* F (1,1199) = 1.35, p = .25, *opportunity to apply* F (1,1285) = 1.89, p = .17, and *organizational support* F (1,1246) = 3.28, p = .07. In contrast, significant differences were found on all five contextual variables between participants in different types of training: *sufficient resources* F (2,1313) = 6.66, p = .001, *authority to act* F (2,1315) = 14.33, p = .000, *encouragement from others* F (2,1231) = 14.33, p = .000, *opportunity to apply* F (2,1320) = 10.17, p = .000, and *organizational support* F (2,1280) = 31.74, p = .000. The Bonferroni post-hoc test was used to determine where differences in post-training contextual variables existed among the three general types of training. Health professionals gave significantly lower follow-up ratings to all five contextual variables than did those participating in the cultural specific or community trainings.

Discussion and Implications

Evaluation of short-term educational programs needs to consider variables other than program characteristics and participant satisfaction in determining whether and how post-educational application occurs. This study explored five contextual variables with potential to influence post-training application.

While all correlations among and between independent and dependent variables were found to be statistically significant, the weakest associations were found between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Most notable is the weak association between *sufficient resources* and the dependent variable. This finding seemingly contradicts previous research in which lack of resources was identified as a barrier to application (Ottoson, 1997b). One possible explanation for these conflicting findings is the same problem Cervero and Rottet (1984) experienced in the instrumentation of practice variables. "Resources" may be too broad a term to find meaningful results and more specific items, such as money or materials, may yield different results. Another possible explanation for these findings is that resources are weakly linked with application outcomes and that other influences, such as reasons for participation, may be more strongly tied with post-training application (Cividen & Ottoson, 1995). The strong correlations among independent variables lend promise for their combination as a factor to be tested against other factors in the Application Process Framework.

Anticipated practice change and contextual supports at the end of training contrast with reported change and supports following training. While the mean rating of *increase in substance abuse prevention activities* was a point lower on the five point scale between post and follow-up, all rating changes on contextual variables also were significant. In general, CTS respondents left training with high ratings for the programs they had attended and intent to do something differently about substance abuse prevention (Ottoson, 1996). Practice experiences did not meet these expectations. Adult educators can prepare participants for post-training application by enabling the assessment of available post-training contextual supports. Future research may explore the extent to which educators share participant anticipation for post-training supports. Educators and evaluators might consider how inclusion of questions about post-program contextual supports can be used as a point of discussion and preparation for post-training application, not only as assessment items on an evaluation instrument.

This study barely scratched the surface in exploring the relationship between participant characteristics and post-training contextual supports. The strongest correlation was found between those with authority and opportunity for application. This study found no differences between the male and female respondents on the extent to which contextual variables existed in the post-training context. This finding needs to be followed with additional research to explore the characteristics of the male and females responding to the survey. Lastly, participants attending different types of training perceived different levels of contextual supports in the post-training context. Health professionals, found to have the lowest rated contextual supports in this study, may have been disadvantaged in terms of their usual treatment focus in this prevention-oriented training in which community-based coalitions had more contextual advantages relative to primary prevention. While contextual supports may be necessary for application, they may differ for type of training, participant, and practice context.

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The Social Construction of Chinese Models of Teaching

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Abstract. Five principal relationships, derived from long-standing Confucian values, are described as the cultural and social foundation for Chinese models of teaching. Three related models of teaching will be described during the presentation: Teacher as master; teacher as virtuoso; and teacher as coach.

Introduction

Most of the research and writing about teaching in adult and higher education takes culture and social norms for granted. For example, in Kember's (1997) recent review of conceptions of teaching in higher education, there is little evidence that the researchers made any attempt to probe the cultural traditions and social contexts that give meaning to the conceptions reported. This paper seeks to re-dress this omission by considering how the role of teacher is socially constructed through cultural and social norms.[1] Broadly speaking, we are interested in the ways in which cultural and social contexts determine acceptable roles for both teacher and learner. Through surveys, interviews, observations, and focus groups we have investigated a wide range of Chinese teachers of adults -- from Masters of Tai Chi and Chinese painting to teachers of accounting and computer systems. Our work, and the work which we draw upon, has been conducted in Canada, Hong Kong, and The Peoples Republic of China.[2]

Cultural heritage

Most would agree that those societies that might reasonably be called 'Chinese' (e.g., Mainland China, Hong Kong[3], Singapore, and Taiwan) hold several values in common, most notably those having to do with family, filial piety, loyalty, duty, and a strong work ethic. Most of these values, particularly the strong attachment to family and filial piety, can be traced back to Confucius. (Tu, Hejtmanek, & Wachman, 1992) Within Confucian thought, the individual is a developing part of a continuing family lineage. It is a progressive continuity of a specific ancestry of one's family; each individual is part of an ethnic continuity and is defined within those relationships. Thus, as one seeks to develop one must act in an exemplary fashion and in accord with an ascribed public role (e.g., father, son, teacher, student, worker)

Not all would agree, however, with our attempt to link models of teaching in contemporary society with ancient philosophical writings of Confucius. Indeed, Confucian scholars themselves are not in full agreement about whether any contemporary East Asian society can be characterized as 'Confucian'. There is even debate on the term Confucian itself, and whether it describes a set of values, beliefs, and roles, or whether it is simply a convenient way for scholars to communicate with each other about their perceptions of society and history.

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[1] This is an abbreviation of a longer paper now under review for publication.

[2] Although we are conceptualizing Chinese models more broadly our own work is primarily situated in Hong Kong. All three authors have worked as educators in Hong Kong. The first author, a Canadian, has worked on an occasional basis in Hong Kong for the past fifteen years; the second author is Australian, and has lived and worked in Hong Kong for eight years; the third author is Chinese, grew up in Hong Kong, and is fluent in Cantonese and Mandarin. All have traveled extensively within the PRC. None of the authors claims to be a Confucian scholar.

[3] We realize that Hong Kong is now part of Mainland China. However, because much of our research was conducted prior to the hand-over in July of 1997, we are distinguishing between them by their traditional titles, rather than using the more correct title of *Special Administrative Region* for Hong Kong.

(Tu, Hejtmanek, & Wachman, 1992) Yet, it would be difficult to imagine any Chinese society without its Confucian heritage. For example, Hong Kong, like other Confucian heritage cultures, has maintained a profound respect for education, for the family as the critical nucleus of society and repository of values, and for a pervasive work ethic, all of which have supported development and modernization. Much the same could be said for each of the other Chinese societies mentioned above. In fact, the debate has most often not been whether or not Confucian values persist in those societies, but rather with what effect on modernization. (Huntington)

From our vantage point there is no doubt about the contemporary vitality and relevance of the ideas of Confucius, and those that followed him, in Hong Kong society. Although he lived twenty-five hundred years ago, his views on education, merit, discipline, and work, continue to be an important driving force in such social structures as the family and schooling. This does not mean that it is an easy task to find a clear and undiluted philosophical path reaching from Confucius to present day teaching in Hong Kong. In fact, as King (1987) points out, that which one might point to as a legacy of Confucian thought is not a singular rigid belief system, but a group of guiding social principles for the conduct of familial and extra-familial relationships. Thus, while Confucianism is not the only source of philosophical values, it is certainly the one that most informs the cultural heritage of Chinese societies.

Social Norms

Embedded within Confucian values are five principal relationships, through which each person defines a sense of identity, duty, and responsibility. Within this set of relationships one can see the manifestation of several social values that characterize what it means to be Chinese and to teach and learn within Chinese societies. The five principal relationships are: ruler and subject (government and citizen), father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friend and friend. In more contemporary terms, women are not so excluded, although the father and eldest son still hold positions of highest authority and responsibility. (Scollon and Scollon, 1994)

In each relationship, the senior member is accorded a wide range of prerogatives and authority with respect to the junior. (Bond and Huang, 1986) Three of the five concern the family, which is the building block of society and is organized on authoritarian principles and the most important of all virtues -- filial piety, or dutiful respect for parents. (Harrison, 1992) Thus, one's role and responsibility is traditionally linked to one or more of the principal relationships. As will be shown, the relationship between teacher and learner is more-or-less similar to that of father and son (or daughter), depending on the model; and the reciprocal role and responsibilities of teacher and learner are a reflection of the respect for hierarchy and authority in Chinese society.

Relationships are co-determinant. The five principal relationships are not, of course, the only ones; nor are they uniquely Chinese. However, they are notable because they are the social compass by which one defines correct behavior and a sense of role and responsibility in traditional Chinese societies. While the first four are relationships of superior to subordinate, responsibilities run in both directions for all five; each individual is constitutive of the other. In addition, neither has a role without the other. Fathers cannot be fathers without sons (or daughters), and so forth. If both participants in the relationship respected their responsibilities, peace and harmony would be assured. (Harrison, 1992) Failure to follow the dictates of proper role behaviour could jeopardize the relationship and, potentially, disrupt the harmony of society.

As common as this might seem it is perhaps more well defined in Chinese societies than in the west. As Donald Munro (1985) has pointed out, in Chinese the word for role is 'fen', which literally means 'portion' and refers to one's portion of the relationship. One has no self except in relation to another as in the five principal relationships. A person is a 'self' to the extent s/he enters into one of those relationships. The person is less a self to the extent that s/he takes distance from those relationships. Thus, self is defined by one's role in the five relationships and the portion of the joint activity one is responsible for, as defined by that relationship. This is the substance of identity and role within Chinese society.

Authority and responsibility. And yet, while responsibilities run in both directions, conditions governing authority do not. Authority, which flows downward, is not contingent upon the behaviour of those with power. On the contrary, as Lucian Pye (1992) points out, the Chinese child learns from an early age that s/he must be dutiful and obedient regardless of parental behaviour. Filial piety is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinese family. The child's first experience with authority is in the acceptance of the omnipotence of his or her father; the worth of the self depends completely upon the display of respect for a father's authority. To even think ill of parental authority means one would have committed a most serious crime. As Pye explains, probably in no other culture could parents be as harmful and yet deserving of respect, as in Chinese society. Indeed, "filial obligation is simply an absolute requirement and exists without regard to the quality of parental behavior." (p. 93)

Many Chinese teachers behave like Chinese fathers. They do their duty and fulfill their obligations toward their students with little, if any, concern for whether they are liked by their students. From their point of view, they are obliged to exercise their rightful authority over the content, as well as the individuals, they are teaching. Both teacher and students expect the teacher to exercise such authority as part of his/her responsibility and as a proper role for teachers.

This contrasts sharply with many western societies in which affection is such a powerful and complicating element in the father-son (parent-child) relationship, as well as the teacher-student relationship. Western teachers (and some parents) are sometimes compromised by their desire to be liked. There is a tendency to deny one's authority over others, while at the same time resisting the authority of others. While Chinese faculty and students acknowledge the pervasive hierarchy that defines their public self and gives them a sense of role and responsibility, western faculty are often nervous about exercising their institutional authority over students and even content. This can result in great confusion among immigrant Asian learners about who is in charge.

Authority and 'heart'. In traditional Chinese society, each person in the hierarchy must assume responsibility for those below; and conversely their own well being is the responsibility of those above them in the hierarchy. It is through this unambiguous hierarchy of authority that one finds the reciprocal relationship, and yet another kind of balance, between authority and heart. Responsibility, authority, and morality (heart) are all part of the same hierarchy of relationships. For example, the Chinese practice of scolding the older child for the misbehaviour of a younger one is not an injustice; the older sibling has responsibility for the guidance and behaviour of the younger. In turn, the younger has responsibility for following the guidance of the older. (Scollon and Scollon, 1994) Just as it is the responsibility of an older sibling if a younger sibling misbehaves, so too, the older child is charged with setting a moral standard and demonstrating benevolence toward his or her younger siblings. Thus, caring, benevolence, and the demonstration of heart are intimately and unambiguously linked to the responsible exercise of authority.

Inside-vs.-outside of relationships. Behaviour is also determined, to some extent, by whether one is inside, or outside one of the principal relationships. (Scollon and Scollon, 1994) For example, it is not unusual for Westerners to be confused by Chinese who are sometimes polite and deferential, and other times appear quite indifferent and even aggressive. It can be in the super market, in an airport, or any number of social settings. In those situations deference is shown inside a relationship; indifference, and even aggressive behaviour, is expressed outside those relationships. This is often misunderstood by Westerners who are conditioned to expect signs of personal regard and affirmation, even from strangers who happen to be waiters at their table.

In classrooms this can be seen in the behaviour of students, as they negotiate the public presentation of two relationships -- teacher to student, and friend to friend. In this setting two dynamics are at play. First, the competing of two principal relationships -- the relationship between teacher and student (similar to that of father and son) and that of friend to friend. As with other situations, the higher relationship (teacher-student) prevails over lower relationships (friend-friend). Not only is the relationship between teacher and student higher on the hierarchy, it is also a public setting in which the public self must be seen as respectful and compliant with that relationship's authority and duty.

It is slightly more complicated by the inside-outside aspect of the friend's relationship. Within the classroom, students are *outside* the relationship of friend to friend. Whereas, outside the classroom, students are *inside* their relationship of friend-friend. (Scollon and Scollon, 1994) In this case, the setting determines whether one is inside or outside a principal relationship. The combination of teacher-student relationship in a public setting, with the students being outside their relationship with friends, may lead them to be passive, quiet, and reluctant to ask questions or even engage in whole-class discussions. In part, their reluctance to speak is based on their respect for the teacher; they may feel that asking questions suggests the teacher did not teach the material well enough. Their reluctance to speak in front of each other, for example by offering their own opinion, may also be based on respect for the knowledge of the teacher. By speaking out, they may be perceived as assuming authority comparable to that of the teacher and, therefore, wasting others' time when they could be listening to the teacher. (Pratt, 1992) All this changes when outside the classroom, and inside the friend-friend relationship. Here students can discuss openly and challenge each other. They may even ask the teacher questions, in a more private and respectful manner, so long as they remember their position in relation to the teacher and do not directly challenge his/her authority.

Public vs. private self. In the examples above there is a hint of yet another dimension of these principle relationships and the roles and behaviour engendered through them -- that of public vs. private self. Westerners move between individuation and social groups depending on their perceived need for solitude or support. This movement is, in part, meant to facilitate the break from dependency and move toward autonomy that characterizes psychological development. That path of development, and the easy movement back and forth between separation and group affiliation, is not found in Asia. In a Chinese culture, the self to be realized (educated) is not an ego-driven, private self, but a collective and relational self. (Pratt, 1991) The very definition of self is always in relation to, rather than apart from, one's family and kin. Within Chinese societies one can no more separate from the family, or even the government, than one can from one's skin. Thus, the focus of education in a Chinese society is on the development of the 'public' self, that is, the roles one is expected to take on within one or more of the principal relationships. Students are expected (by parents and teachers) to be disciplined in the fulfillment of their role, duty, and obligation as prescribed by their public self.

Consistency between family and schooling. The place of family in the social fabric and socialization process of Chinese societies, is indisputably central and dominant. As mentioned above, family is directly related to three of the principal relationships. Within those relationships responsibility is reciprocal, but authority is always from superior to subordinate, beginning with the acceptance of the omnipotence of a father's authority and culminating in the worth of the self as dependent upon the respect for a father's authority. Within Chinese societies the individual's ego disappears into the family. Consequently, a student's achievement, or lack of achievement, is a reflection on his or her family. Students are well aware that their behaviour, their perseverance, and ultimately their accomplishments are on behalf of the family's well being and reputation. Within the Chinese family, today's child is tomorrow's ancestor. (Harrison, 1992, p. 83) Thus, in the arena of schooling, an individual represents the family's social reputation as well as its social and economic viability into the future.

There is, therefore, a high degree of consistency between the primary (family) and secondary (schooling) socialization of the 'public' self in Chinese societies. (Watkins & Biggs, 1996) Unlike the West, where there is often a mismatch between what is expected of children at home and what is expected of them in school, there is great consistency between home and school in the expectations and relationships that govern children's behaviour. This consistency is nicely illustrated by the work of Hess and Azuma. (1991) Although their comparisons are between Japanese and American societies, much of what they found is characteristic of other Confucian Heritage societies, such as Hong Kong and Mainland China.

In summary, there are several propositions which link Chinese models of teaching with cultural heritage and social norms: (1) the individual's role and identity are defined by one or more of the principal relationships; (2) social behaviour is quite different, depending upon whether it occurs 'within' or 'outside' the bounds of one of the principal relationships; (3) these relationships are hierarchical, both within and between relationships; (4) social order and individual responsibility is defined and ensured through everyone honoring their part in the role relationships; (5) authority flows one way and is not contingent upon the benevolence of those with more power; (6) 'heart' or a sense of caring and morality is, in part, enacted through fulfillment of one's responsibility and authority; and (7) there is a high degree of consistency between socialization that takes place at home and the socialization processes of schooling.

Three Models of Teaching

Teacher as Master. Drawing on the study of five Chinese Masters (martial arts, pharmacy, cooking, painting, and calligraphy), this model characterizes the most traditional relationship and responsibilities accorded to teacher and student (literally called student in all cases). Within this model the teacher acts *in loco parentis*, that is, in place of the parents. His or her (some of the Masters were women) responsibilities are profoundly similar to those of parents.

Teacher as virtuoso performer. Drawing on the study of several teachers in Mainland China, this model highlights the role of teacher as performer. What is important is how the teacher presents the material, how she or he adds a particular interpretation to the rendering of accepted knowledge. The "general structure" of teaching includes: organizing instruction, inspecting and reviewing, lecturing on the new material, firming up the new material, and arranging homework. Thus, as with music, true virtuosity in teaching means more than mere "technical wizardry;" or mastery of one's knowledge. It also means having "heart" which means transcending the technical base of knowledge and adding a part of one's self in the representation of that knowledge.

Teacher as coach. As with the other models, effective teachers here are strict, with high expectations, but with a slightly different kind of relationship to learners. The relationship is more like that of coach and athlete, than parent and child. While there is a clear sense of authority and place within the relationship, and inside class a teacher's manner might appear to be formal and distant, outside of class teachers are expected to be more friendly and informal. Overall, there is in this model less of the life time, absolute obedience and deference to authority that is implied in the first two models.

Commonalties and Contrasts. All three models have several things in common, most of which contrast with North American models of teaching. First, there is a profound respect for basics, that is, the foundational knowledge of one's art, craft, or discipline. This knowledge is considered a necessary and respectable foundation, worthy of both teacher's and students' time and effort. Second, teacher and learner relationships are consistent with other social structures, which clearly spell out each person's responsibility and duty. This stands in sharp contrast to much of Western society, where learners move between authoritarian schooling and libertarian society. Third, each model assumes a dialectical relationship between different (but equally important) forms of knowledge: perceptual, rational, and moral. Thus, all learning starts with memorization, then to understanding and application, before questioning or critiquing the knowledge to be learned. There is no rush to critical thinking or problem solving before the learner has demonstrated mastery of basic knowledge. Fourth, successful learning is largely attributed to effort, rather than skill, ability, or individual differences, as in the West.

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"Dancing As Gracefully As I Can": A Developmental Model Of Coping Strategies In Successfully Adapting To Hiv Infection

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Abstract. The purpose of this study was to understand the use of coping strategies in successfully adapting to HIV infection. Data analyzed from 18 interviews revealed that coping strategies employed immediately after diagnosis differed from those used later. An underlying developmental process in the use of coping strategies was also uncovered.

Introduction

Since the 1970s, there has been an upsurge of interest in research that explores the ways humans deal with and adapt to the internal and external stresses of life. From a Broadway play entitled "Don't Bother Me I Can't Cope," to the commonplace use of expressions about being "in denial," to shelves of reading material on "coping" that can be found in any bookstore, there is ubiquitous evidence by researchers and lay persons alike of engagement with "the mental demands of modern life" (Kegan, 1994).

A review of the coping literature reveals two trends that have gained momentum within recent years: movement toward an interactional approach to coping, and a change in the way stress is viewed as well as the role it plays in the adaptive process. An interactional approach to coping incorporates the complementary strengths of two opposing perspectives -- transactional and ego psychology. A transactional perspective emphasizes the importance of factors *external* to the individual (e.g., support networks), whereas the psychoanalytically-rooted ego psychology perspective is concerned with how an individual's *internal*, psychological processes govern attempts to cope through the use of defense mechanisms. It has been suggested that the study of coping could best be served by promoting an interactional approach -- a "third generation of coping theory and research" that "acknowledges the importance of both situational and individual determinants of coping" (Suls, David, & Harvey, 1996, p. 720).

There is also evidence of a second, more subtle trend in the coping literature -- one that reflects a change in the way stress is viewed and its role in the adaptive process. Use of the word "stress," has been associated most often with unhealthy manifestations (e.g., depression). This depiction, however, may offer a limited view of the range of outcomes that are possible. Aldwin (1994), for one, maintains that "stress is so ubiquitous that it seems intuitively unlikely that its effects on adaptation are solely negative" (p. 241). She suggests that coping can foster change, or transformation, rather than promote homeostasis. And when viewed as an impetus for growth, stress may provide a catalyst for adult development.

The literature is replete with anecdotal accounts of individuals who report richer, more meaningful lives as a result of encountering stressful situations, including potentially life-threatening illnesses. Such individuals have been able to confront the prospect of death in healthy, satisfying, and life-affirming ways. That is, they have evidenced a positive adaptation to news that has shattered their basic assumptions about themselves and their place in the world. Looking at a specific population, such as those coping with an HIV-positive diagnosis, provides the keenest insight into how the process of successful adaptation unfolds.

The purpose of this study was to understand the use of coping strategies in effecting a successful adaptation to an HIV-positive diagnosis. Specifically, what are the coping strategies that are used? Is there an underlying developmental process in the sense of movement from less adaptive to more adaptive strategies?

Relevant Literature

The literature in psychology, counseling, social work, nursing, and adult development was reviewed to inform this study. Much of the research on coping with a life-threatening illness, including HIV/AIDS, has focused on the impact of coping on psychological distress. The most consistent finding in these studies has been that emotion-focused behaviors (e.g., denial) are associated with increased distress. The relationship between problem-focused behaviors and psychological distress is not as clearly defined, although many studies have associated problem-focused or "active-coping" with a higher quality of life and less depression (Adam & Sears, 1996).

Few studies have identified specific coping strategies, delineated their change over time, and explored the transformational effects of dealing with stressful events. Two studies outlining specific coping strategies used by individuals with HIV were uncovered. Leserman, Perkins, and Evans (1992) delineated four coping strategies: adopting a fighting spirit, reframing stress to maximize personal growth, planning a course of action, and seeking social support. Barroso (1997) found that the prospect of long-term survival is embedded in five dimensions that allow individuals to reconstruct their lives within the context of HIV/AIDS: normalizing, focusing on living, taking care of oneself, being in relation to others, and triumphing.

A few studies have proposed conceptual frameworks that contextualize HIV-related changes. Siegel and Krauss (1991) noted the emergence of three major challenges in coping with HIV: dealing with the possibility of a curtailed life span, dealing with reactions to a stigmatizing illness, and developing strategies for maintaining physical and emotional health. Chidwick and Borrill (1996) discovered that individuals who managed their lives successfully after an HIV-positive diagnosis shared the following characteristics: They were able to cope more effectively after at least two years had elapsed since diagnosis, had a perception of good physical health, and felt they had appropriate and sufficient social support. O'Brien (1992) constructed a data-based typology of coping behaviors for persons living with HIV that consisted of five core categories: negotiating, collaborating, participating, distancing, and free-lancing.

Even fewer studies have addressed how adult development may be fostered by the struggle to cope with a life-threatening illness. Schwartzberg (1993) uncovered ten ways 19 HIV-positive gay men conceptualized the meaning they had made from being infected with HIV (e.g., "HIV as Punishment," "HIV as Irreparable Loss"). "HIV as a Catalyst for Personal Growth" was the one most frequently mentioned.

Method

This study employed a qualitative design to understand the use of coping strategies that effect a successful adaptation to HIV infection. Eighteen respondents were located through four AIDS service organizations in Atlanta, Georgia. They were 45 years or younger in age because it was assumed that the possibility of dying at an unnaturally early age would allow all coping strategies within one's repertoire to be tapped. Respondents also had a CD4 (T-cell) count of 500 or less. This count signifies a compromised immune system, rendering it difficult to remain in denial about the presence of HIV. The final sample consisted of ten men and eight women ranging in age from 23 to 47 (one male was age 57). Eleven are Caucasian, six are African-American, and one is Hispanic. The amount of time since diagnosis ranged from 18 months to

13 years. Level of educational attainment spanned Grade 10 to Masters Degree. Nine of the participants are currently employed. A semistructured interview format was used and areas explored included coping, psychosocial development, faith development, and meaning-making. Data were analyzed inductively using the constant comparative method.

Findings

The model (Figure 1) below addresses both the coping strategies used and the developmental progression of these strategies from the time an HIV-positive diagnosis is received until the present. The period we call "in transition" spans the time between "immediately after diagnosis" and "currently," and functions as a "testing ground" for the coping strategies currently being used. A developmental movement over time, from coping strategies that are more reactive, evidence less control, and are more self-centered to those that are more proactive, evidence more control, and are more other-centered is also depicted.

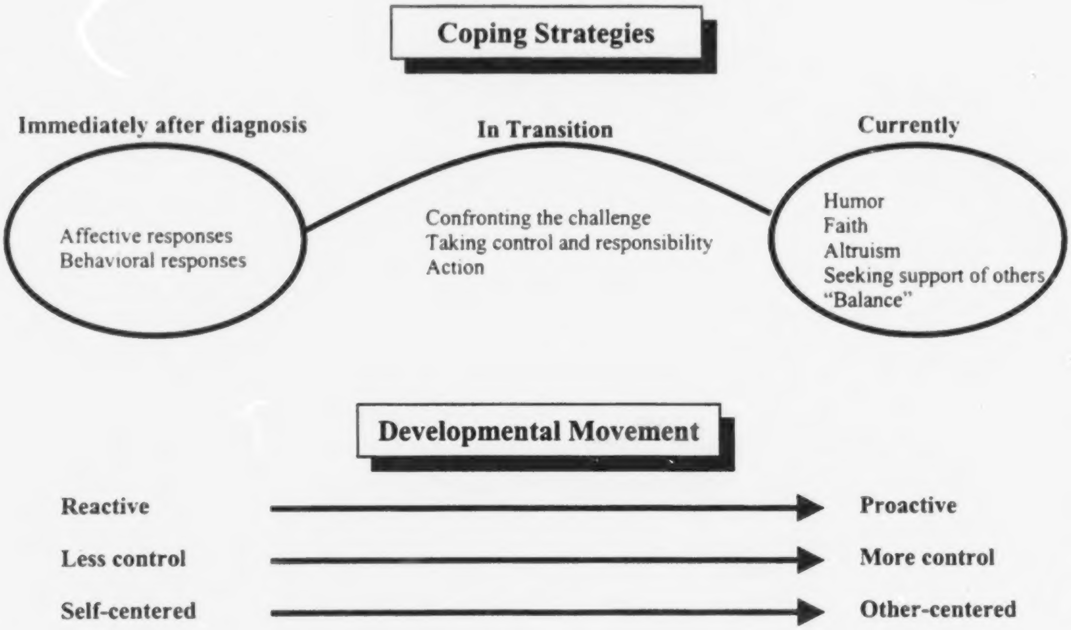

Figure 1. Coping Strategies and Developmental Movement

Coping strategies utilized **immediately after diagnosis** were primarily of two kinds: affective and behavioral. The scope of affective responses was broad, ranging from complete denial to intense anger. The simple response, "It couldn't be," by John, a former priest, elegantly captured the denial reported by many respondents. Dawn identified a period of denial which she described as being the product of "core fear." Anger was another commonly reported affective response. Steve recalled going to the bathroom and "wishing I had a meat locker or some place that was soundproof so I could really scream . . . . Why have I got this? . . . Angry, so angry!"

Coping strategies post diagnosis also revealed numerous behavioral responses, including excessive use of drugs/alcohol and "automatic pilot" reactions -- behaviors commonly employed during other stressful times. Sam, a recovering alcoholic, stated: "I pretty much stayed drunk for another three years." Pat, whose life journey was particularly colorful, revealed, "I just used drugs day-in and day-out . . . . [they] helped keep me in denial." Not all behavioral responses were so self-destructive. "Automatic, survival mode" strategies, while not especially purposeful, were used by several participants. For example, Mirna, the one Hispanic participant, stated that immediately after diagnosis, she "just went on with the flow." Similarly, Elise, who was 29 when diagnosed, indicated, "I just did my life."

The period, **in transition**, is best understood as a time of change. An individual realizes that many coping strategies employed immediately after diagnosis are without long-term utility and are ineffective in assimilating the diagnosis. "In transition" serves as a launching pad for successful coping strategies and is characterized by three particularly salient occurrences: *confronting the challenge*, *taking control and responsibility*, and *action*. Jeffrey, in *confronting the challenge* of an HIV-positive diagnosis, was "forced to focus on what is there . . . then I began to process the information and began to look at myself with different eyes." *Taking control and responsibility*, a cognitive process reflecting empowerment, was poignantly described by Joe: "You realize that there are still a lot of factors despite the HIV that you have under your control . . . . it [HIV] made me realize that my time is limited . . . and I better get off my butt and do something if I'm going to stay alive." *Action* also serves to facilitate the development of successful coping strategies. Tracy, after becoming involved in a support group and "getting educated," realized that her "mission, and I ain't talking about as far as a paycheck, just as a person living with this virus" was to "get out and get involved."

Currently, five coping strategies are being used: *humor*, *faith*, *altruism*, *seeking the support of others*, and *"balance." Humor* liberally punctuated all of the interviews. Sam, for example, revealed, "Before, when I was drunk, I was very judging . . . . I was very critical, very uptight, very paranoid (laughter). I come from an upper middle class Republican family, and I used to be very Republican. I sobered up . . . I'm no longer a Republican!" Leeza, the youngest participant, indicated how *faith* is a primary coping strategy in her life: "I'll get the Bible and I'll look at myself in the mirror as a way of talking to God . . . . and tell Him how I feel."

Altruism is the coping strategy most widely employed. From Tim's humble statement, "I just want to make a difference," to Steve's more eloquent, "I want to just hold a candle to where maybe somebody two steps behind me can make it to that point and then perhaps go a couple more steps if I can't go," there is ubiquitous evidence of the desire to help others. *Seeking support*, a strategy rarely employed immediately after diagnosis, is often accompanied by relinquishing "control." Participants articulated a deep appreciation for reciprocal relationships -- where help can be sought as well as given. *"Balance,"* the fifth coping strategy, is defined as the conscious act of weighing and dealing with competing life demands. Steve, in juggling the need to live a life not ruled by HIV with the awareness that long-term survival is dependent on *not* forgetting his status, illustrated the concept of balance: ". . . for this weekend let's go away and this weekend I won't think about it [being HIV positive]. This weekend I'm going to live as if this weren't a part of my life . . . . I think it really helps me get by."

Clearly, participants exhibited healthier, more adaptive coping strategies over time, with developmental movement being characterized in three ways: reactive to proactive, less control to more control, and self-centered to other-centered. The coping strategies used immediately after diagnosis were primarily reactive in nature. However, coping strategies currently in use, such as altruism and balance, are much more evolved, requiring awareness and conscious effort. They also reflect a greater sense of empowerment and a shift in focus from oneself to others.

Discussion

Immediately after receiving an HIV-positive diagnosis, respondents used both affective and behavioral strategies. Affective responses are emotion-focused and are employed when one perceives s/he has little control over a situation. Utilizing emotion-focused strategies immediately after diagnosis was a logical action for these respondents, since many were diagnosed in the 1980s when infection with HIV was equated with certain death.

The findings of this study also revealed an interim period, "in transition," that is unique to this study. "In transition" is the time when individuals realize their earlier coping strategies are not successful in dealing with HIV. Consequently, they become more self-directed in their coping efforts by confronting the challenge of their diagnosis, taking control and responsibility for their lives, and putting their new-found attitudinal changes into action.

The five coping strategies currently being used by respondents -- humor, faith, altruism, seeking the support of others, and balance -- are considered healthy and adaptive responses by any measure. Humor is situated among the most mature strategies in Vaillant's (1977) developmental hierarchy. The use of faith in coping with HIV supports the findings of Kaplan, Marks, and Mertens (1997), who discovered that prayer was among the most frequent and effective coping responses in a multiethnic sample of 53 women with HIV/AIDS.

Altruism, the most prevalent coping strategy, is reflected in respondents' statements about the beneficial effects of helping others; most often, those helped were also HIV-positive. Barroso (1997) similarly found that reconstructing one's life within the context of AIDS involves "helping others with HIV" (p. 67). Leserman et al. (1992) also emphasized the value of altruism and linked participation in the AIDS community with the utilization of healthy coping strategies.

Seeking the support of others is a finding that adds to the emerging body of literature underscoring the relationship between social support and positive adaptation in persons with HIV. Finally, balance resembles Vaillant's (1977) depiction of suppression, which entails temporarily putting aside unacceptable or inappropriate thoughts or impulses. Vaillant found, in fact, that suppression was the defense most closely associated with "positive mental health, warm human relationships, and successful careers" (p. 126).

Over time, participants evidenced a clear developmental progression in the use of coping strategies: from reactive to proactive, from less control to more control, and from self-centered to other-centered. This movement paralleled the progession of coping strategies that occur within the three unfolding stages of HIV infection (Living with Dying, Fighting the Sickness, and Getting Worn Out) delineated by McCain and Gramling (1992), and underscored Chidwick and Borrill's (1996) finding that coping abilities develop over time.

That change was in a positive, growth-oriented direction suggests that coping with HIV may foster adult development, defined by Bee (1996) as "those changes that arguably reflect the emergence of some more complex or more integrated system or structure" (p. 16). Healthy, successful strategies for dealing with a life-threatening illness can be learned, and coping, like adult learning and development, is a complex phenomenon. While some of the coping strategies that we uncovered (e.g., humor) clearly fall within the province of an ego psychology perspective on coping, others (e.g., seeking support) are not similarly linked. Thus, we must support an interactional approach to coping since its vision "seems most compatible with the complexity of coping processes in everyday life" (Suls et al., 1996, p. 731).

The ultimate value of research in applied fields like adult education, social work, and nursing resides in its ability to understand and improve practice for "what we do affects the lives of real people" (Merriam, 1995, p. 51). An interactional approach to coping affords a broader lens for identifying adaptive strategies in coping with an HIV-positive diagnosis, and thus provides the best hope for assisting individuals stuggling with life-threatening situations.

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Adults with Disabilities and The Accommodation Communication in Higher Education

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Abstract. This qualitative study describes the accommodation communication as it occurs between faculty in higher education and students with visible and invisible disabilities. Elements of an accommodation communication model are: (a) disclosure, (b) validation, (c) request, (d) responsibility, (e) timing, and (f) negotiation.

The disability rights movement began in the fall of 1962 with Ed Roberts's decision to chose a school based on his academic needs not his disability (Shapiro, 1993). In 1962, only four university campuses were accessible to individuals with disabilities. Children with disabilities were not guaranteed an education nor was there a legally protected right to an accessible education for non-veterans until the seventies. The passage of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P. L. 93-112) containing Section 504 made it illegal for any federal agency, public university, or recipient of federal funds to discriminate against an individual on the basis of a disability. Section 504 prevents exclusion based on disability status (Mangrum & Strichert, 1988) and provides students an equal opportunity to achieve equal results (Biehl, 1978). It is the responsibility of individual to disclose and to request an accommodation beginning the obligation of the postsecondary institution to accommodate the individual with the disability (Jarrow, 1993). Accommodation is "an adjustment to the learning environment that does not compromise the essential elements of a course or curriculum" (Schuck & Kroeger, 1993; p. 63). The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (P. L. 101-336) (ADA) expands protection to include all private and public educational programs and services be accessible to individuals with disabilities (Duston & Provan, 1995). According to the ADA, a disability "means, with respect to an individual--a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of such individual; a record of such an impairment; or being regarded as having such an impairment" (P. L. 101-336; §3). Learning is considered a major life activity.

Method. The purpose was to examine the accommodation communication process and factors affecting it. Interview data were analyzed using a constant comparative method to generate grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Three samples were compared; composed of 9 faculty, 8 students with visible disabilities, and 7 students with invisible disabilities. A visible disability is easily seen or suspected by another person, for instance people that use wheel chairs and other tools for mobility. An invisible disability is one that cannot be seen or suspected by a lay person. Examples of invisible disabilities are learning disabilities, traumatic brain injury, and psychiatric disabilities. Members of each sample answered questions about disclosure, describing the disability, reactions of others, requesting an accommodation, and coaching or advice received. Interviews lasted forty-five to ninety minutes. Transcripts were checked against the audiotapes, read, and re-read for coding. Several months went by between work on each sample to allow categories to emerge from each sample independently. Comparisons between samples were made after all samples were coded, and categories written up into descriptive text (Wolcott, 1994).

Accommodation Communication Model. The findings come from the data and are in no way meant as an interpretation of the law. An accommodation communication model emerged from the data with elements identified from conversations with participants in each sample. Accommodation communication is the act of requesting access to the materials, documents, and information provided by an instructor to facilitate or enhance learning the course content. Elements of the accommodation communication are: (a) disclosure, (b) validation, (c) request, (d) responsibility, (e) timing, and (f) negotiation. Each section includes a definition of the element, a description of its relationship to the process, and an exploration of each sample's experiences with the process.

The process starts with a disclosure regarding the disability or an access need. Disclosure is accompanied by validation of the information which can occur as a formal request for documentation or by tacit acceptance of the disclosure by an instructor. After a request for accommodation occurs, it creates the responsibility to provide accommodations on the part of the instructor, institution, or employer. The importance and credibility of the disclosure is based upon the timing of the request and the way negotiations proceed. As the student and instructor negotiate, the student communicates his or her needs, and the instructor imparts her or his expectations of academic performance. A successful negotiation process defines mutually acceptable goals.

Disclosure. Disclosure is the act of providing personal information to another person (Derlega & Grzelak, 1979). Chelune (1979) claims disclosure's importance is derived from the amount of comfort the receiver obtains from the communication. The data that emerged in this study, however, do not entirely support Chelune. For participants with visible disabilities, most often disclosure was done with the goal of making the recipient of the information feel more comfortable. In the case of participants with invisible disabilities, disclosing did not generally make the receiver or the participant feel more comfortable. In fact, disclosure frequently produced the opposite reaction in the receiver, discomfort and skepticism, while the person with the invisible disability experienced anxiety.

Disclosure is the most important step in the process. If the individual with a disability does not disclose disability status and accommodation need(s), then there is no obligation to accommodate on the part of the instructor, institution, or employer (P. L. 101-336). In other words, without a disclosure and request there is no accommodation communication. The amount of personal information disclosed varied among the student participants. Participants with visible disabilities sometimes needed only access to a building or classroom for a wheelchair, such as wide doorways or passageways without stairs. If the classroom was not accessible then a request was made. If the classroom was accessible nothing was said. A more complete disclosure including medical information was provided by participants with invisible disabilities such as asthma, which impacted physical health, to reduce the skepticism of the instructor.

Several issues emerged surrounding disclosure: (a) making people feel more comfortable, (b) the negative impacts of attitudes and stereotyping, (c) the issue of power in the disclosure relationship, (d) reactions to disclosure, and (e) the process of understanding and articulating the disability (Rocco, 1997). As one participant with an invisible disability said, "When you tell people you have a learning disability for some reason that word is synonymous with stupid" (Reba 106). This feeling that instructors would think less of a student disclosing a learning disability was supported by comments faculty participants made.

Validation. Disclosure and request for accommodation can be made by an individual with a disability, but if it is not believed, an accommodation would not be made. Section 504 and the ADA require verification of the disability but do not define it. Verification is made through assessment procedures determined by disability services and the administration (Schuck & Kroeger, 1993). The administration is concerned with cost containment and serving officially diagnosed students.

Validation is the process a student goes through with an instructor to establish a right to accommodation. This is accomplished only when the instructor is satisfied the disability exists and the student is not trying "to take advantage of the system." For instance, some faculty participants were afraid that an individual without a disability might claim a learning disability to be permitted extra time for test taking. Three ways the instructor can seek validation of the claim are by (a) requesting written documentation verifying the disability or registration of the student with disability services, (b) calling disability services to verify information with a counselor, and (c) accepting the word of the student. Requesting documentation can be driven by the desire to follow procedure or by skepticism of student truthfulness. Some student participants handed instructors the documentation provided by disability services which stated the various accommodations needed, such as extended test taking time or a distraction free room. This documentation served as the disclosure, request, and validation. Other participants with visible disabilities rarely provided such documentation, believing what was or was not needed was evident by observing them.

When the instructor feels trusting students is important, then he or she is more likely to take at face value the information the student is disclosing. One faculty participant expressed his dismay with instructors who think students would falsely claim a disability, echoing the sentiments of participants with invisible disabilities who felt no one wants the negative stereotyping that comes with disclosing. When the instructor is satisfied that the disclosure and consequent request for accommodation are valid, acceptance of the disclosure has occurred. The instructor controls whether validation or acceptance of the disclosure occurs.

Requesting Accommodations. Request for accommodation is made by the individual needing the accommodation. This request can be directed towards an individual, a department, or an institution. Participants in this study made their original request at the institutional level by notifying disability services. In most postsecondary institutions notification of disability services is required before any accommodations are provided. On the individual level, the instructor can request documentation of the disability. Once this is provided, the student is entitled to accommodations which have been determined by the counselor and the student. Another participant Sandy, had little understanding of what a doctoral program would entail so she handled the request for accommodations by bringing the "temporary advisor, and the director of graduate studies together with the person from disability services office" (Sandy 182-183).

Responsibility to Accommodate. Responsibility to accommodate a student begins with disclosure and the accommodation request. Responsibility to accommodate is a legal and financial obligation to make accommodations which were seen first as an institutional responsibility by all participants, even though they felt the responsibility for accommodations should be shared by the institution, disability services, the department, instructors, and students. One faculty participant (a lawyer) realized that he had a legal obligation and that he represented the institution. He spoke in terms of the rights of students with disabilities to access their education. Other participants did not seem to realize that faculty and their departments represent the institution. It was interesting that many faculty participants felt they would like to help, but accommodations really are the purview of disability services. These participants felt their home departments did not have the resources or time to provide accommodations. Another reason faculty participants did not see accommodations as the responsibility of faculty or the departments was a lack of knowledge of what do for a student. Some faculty participants described self directed learning projects engaged in to inform themselves about particular disabilities.

Other faculty participants considered accommodations one more burden the institution was placing on them. Some faculty participants spoke in terms of their right to deny an accommodation. The right to deny an accommodation came from the faculty participant's belief that he knew what was fair to him and to other students. This sentiment of fairness and personal rights was directed towards students with cognitive disabilities such as attention deficient or learning disabilities more often then those with visible disabilities. These disabilities are "suspect disabilities," meaning faculty participants expressed doubts as to whether they should be classified as disabilities.

Student participants registered with disability services as part of the admissions process or after diagnosis. Disability services was recognized as the institution's facilitator of accommodations by both students and faculty. Student participants utilized disability services for all accommodation needs until the office failed to make the accommodations. Student participants spoke of scribes for exams not being capable of writing mathematical symbols, or of books not being tape recorded well or in time. One participant didn't get his books recorded until the fifth week of class. Most often student participants felt they had a responsibility to see that their needs were met and to create innovative ways to access information. When disability services failed to provide adequate accommodations, student participants responded in a number of ways. Some left the main campus to take courses only at a regional branch. Other participants went to their major department and worked out accommodations with the assistance of academic counselors and instructors; others recruited friends, relatives, or paid people to record written materials on tape.

Timing of the Request. Timing of the request for accommodation has implications for the student's credibility and the ability of the various entities involved to facilitate the accommodation. Timing can affect the reception of the disclosure, the accommodation request, and the responsibility to accommodate. The earlier a student discloses in the academic program or course, the more credible and "doable" is the request. Requests for accommodations ranged from some time during the quarter prior to course enrollment to the last weeks of a quarter. Faculty participants favorably remembered students who requested accommodations prior to the beginning of the quarter and on the first day of class. Two participants had experiences with students disclosing near the end of a course or program, one because of recent diagnosis and the other forced to when compensation skills failed him. Both faculty participants were frustrated, but the ability to do the work was questioned of the student with the recent diagnosis. A well documented request for accommodation can become suspect if the timing of the accommodation request seems inappropriate to the instructor. The farther into the quarter the disclosure occurs the greater the skepticism about the disability, the student's capability, and the necessity of the accommodation.

> It was the end of the quarter and you just--it wasn't like she came in at the beginning of the quarter and said I have ADD and we had a quarter to sort of work through it. It was really like when the process was pretty much when the quarter was pretty much finished. I think she ended up taking an incomplete and I guess she did do - I can't really recall what happened after that. I think she did turn something in and I think it was fairly minimal. (Rod 116-123)

A student who is diagnosed just prior to the beginning of a course or at some time during the course is viewed with a lot of skepticism and suspicion. This student cannot articulate accommodation needs concisely and with any authority because the student is just learning about the disability, making the student appear incompetent and full of excuses for inadequate performance. For students with invisible disabilities this is more of a problem,

> When she came in and almost had a look of ecstasy on her face because she had been diagnosed and that sort of explained it all--But this person was sort of like using it as an excuse for - suddenly there was all the answers why things weren't working for her and why you know. Maybe I could understand that up to a point because she was having some problems getting things done and so suddenly she sort of had a label or a reason but its as I've always said to my oldest son that might be an explanation but its not necessarily an excuse. What you do is find ways to compensate. I didn't say any of this to her because it was the end of the quarter. (Rod 112-118)

The timing of the accommodation request can be vital to any future relationship between the professor and student. If the student has to take multiple classes with a professor who is skeptical of the student's disclosure as either being accurate or honest, the ramifications can be enormous for the student's learning. Some students who are afraid of being judged as incompetent or inadequate put off disclosure until the last possible minute. A student and professor had worked together over the course of eleven years when the student disclosed under the duress of the final dissertation stage when chapters were being revised,

> I'd be spending my weekends on it. And he'd get it back and he would do worse with the next draft and so I can remember a counseling session where I just got angry at him. I said you're expecting a lot from me and you're not delivering. You've got this schedule set up and I'm doing my load and what are you slacking off--this work is getting worse and that's when he informed me of his situation. (Bud 170-175)

The timing of the request affects the relationship between instructor and student. In the case of a recent diagnoses a student may not disclose at a time when the instructor will find the disclosure credible. In fact, the instructor may believe the student is making excuses for poor past performance. Other times students put off disclosing out of fear, shame or embarrassment, doing so only when confronted with poor performance. Timing can also affect each party's perception of the accommodation request and the expectations each has for the other's performance.

Negotiating Accommodations. Negotiating accommodations is the act of determining to what degree each party, the instructor and the student, finds the request and its compliance reasonable and adequate. The concept of negotiating accommodations emerged from conversations with faculty participants. According to one faculty participant, "It comes down… to the student and faculty member and I guess it has to almost be a negotiated sort of thing….Maybe a shared responsibility. Sort of a problem that people work collaboratively together" (Rod 362-363). Negotiation is thought of as a process that people engage in who each have something to offer the other party. In this case, faculty participants were more concerned with losing something such as academic freedom, decision-making control, academic standards, or time. For example, participants felt accommodating a student would take time away from their other duties, time they didn't want to waste. One faculty participant spoke of students with cognitive disabilities needing more guidance on writing assignments and believed this to be time taken away from other students. Rarely do faculty consider the benefits to other students in the class when some accommodations are made (Lynch & Gussel, 1996). One faculty participant did speak of changing his teaching style and becoming more aware of different senses because of his experience accommodating a student with a vision impairment.

Effective communication involves assigning each party responsibility which is understood as such by both. The student is usually requesting an academic accommodation and will provide the instructor with the necessary information. Faculty participants indicated that the student was the primary source of information about the disability and necessary accommodations,

> They need to be able to tell me what they need. They should know what they need and they just need to - if they want to discuss that with me I'll be glad to sit down and we can talk about what would be helpful to them. But all they have to do is just tell me what they want and I'll get it for them. (Jim 79-82)

Some instructors like the one quoted above were willing to "get it for them" while others expressed the idea that accommodations were negotiated between the student who knew how the disability manifested itself and the instructor who knew the course material,

> I'd have to take my cue from her. She'd have to have a sense to know what to ask for. …She came in and said I have a problem and I know it's been a problem in every class and it was a problem the last time I had you but I don't know what to do. I could certainly make some suggestions. I'm pretty good at saying would it help if we break things into smaller chunks and have you turn in something on a week-by-week basis where everybody else is turning in twice a quarter? (Rod 263-271)

For others, additional information about the necessary accommodations would be the responsibility of an agency. For instance,

> Typically [a student] comes to me very well prepared for the conversation. They have a letter from the office of student disability services. They are prepared to give me a phone number if I need to call and talk to someone. (Jeb 278-281)

Implications for Adult Education. Adults with disabilities increasingly participate in a variety of adult education programs, making the process of communicating accommodation needs important to know and understand. The accommodation communication discussed here can occur in all types of adult education programs from community education to corporate traning. Adults who do not know how to effectively communicate these needs may experience increased discrimination and limited education and employment opportunities. Adult educators who react negatively to disclosure may find that these students leave their programs.

Frequently disability is glossed over if mentioned at all in conversations about diversity and multiculturalism, we need to increase opportunities for discussion of disability issues. First, include accommodation statements on all course syllabi (Rocco, 1995). As the instructor covers the syllabus during the first class, this statement will be seen by all. Thus creating an atmosphere for students to discuss differences in learning styles and accessing information. Students with and without disabilities benefit from learning about different ways to access information. Second, course packets should include relevant material on disability issues or experiences. Third, once a disclosure has been made to an instructor, the instructor can take this opportunity to practice the accommodation communication. This is helpful to students with invisible disabilities whose opportunities to practice disclosure techniques are limited (Rocco, 1997). Disability disclosures done ineffectively, without ready suggestions for accommodation, and poorly timed increase the likelihood of further stereotyping and discrimination (Lynch & Gussel, 1996). These suggestions will provide opportunities to discuss disability issues helping adults with disabilities feel that their experience is important. It may also begin to change attitudes and stereotyping of other members of the class or faculty.

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*(The entire list of references will be given out at the presentation.)

Adults' Readiness to Learn: Questioning Lifelong Learning for All

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Abstact. Lifelong learning for all has become a major policy objective in the industrialized world. This study, which is based on analysis of IALS data, indicates several disturbing trends in the present distribution of lifelong learning. The differences in readiness to learn as an adult can be explained by "the long arm of the family and the long arm of the job." A main conclusion is that Lifelong learning for all is conditional on a working life organized in a way that promotes the use of literacy, and a society where people are encouraged to think, act, and be engaged.

Background and purpose

Policy documents from various nations, as well as reports from intergovernmental organisations e.g. the European Union, OECD, and UNESCO, uniformly promote lifelong learning as the foundation for adult educational and training policy. In 1994, UNESCO chose *Lifelong Learning for All* for its midterm strategy covering the period 1996-2001. In the same year the OECD conference of ministers of education proposed that member countries adopt "making lifelong learning a reality for all" as a priority for the ensuing five year period. This brings the question of adults' readiness to actively engage in learning to the forefront of the research and policy agenda. Despite the emphasis on lifelong learning for **all** even a superficial reading of the international literature indicates several contradictions in the discourse surrounding lifelong learning and a lack of serious interest in who benefits (Rubenson, 1997). Thus, instead of just promoting lifelong learning as a solution to economic and social problems facing society the purpose of this study is to critically examine what influences adults' readiness to engage in learning, and to develop an understanding of why large groups are excluded from the emerging learning society. Of special interest was the relationship between everyday learning (nature and structure of everyday experiences) and participation in organised forms of adult education and training. For example, does everyday learning increase or decrease the knowledge gaps between ethnic and social groups? The discussion starts with a brief look at the changing discourse on lifelong learning.

The Changing Discourse on Lifelong Learning

A reading of the literature on lifelong learning indicates a first and second generation of lifelong learning. The two generations seem to be informed by competing ideologies, are rooted in different policy imperatives on education and contain markedly different notions of what a realization of the principle of lifelong learning should look like.

With a few exceptions most of the literature on the first generation of lifelong learning was done under the auspices of UNESCO and aimed at clarifying the concepts. Within UNESCO, conceptual work stressed that the evolution of lifelong learning involved the horizontal integration of education and life. That is, not only could educative experiences be found in everyday life but also in continuous "educational situations." A precondition for lifelong learning was said to be a changed conceptualization of education, encompassing formal, non-formal, and informal settings for learning. An important issue in the analysis was how a "system of lifelong learning" could reduce rather than increase educational gaps in society. Through self-evaluation, self-awareness and self-directed learning, humans were expected to work towards achieving the central goals of democracy, humanism and the total development of self. One warned against narrowly conceptualizing lifelong learning as being merely an extension of the idea of retraining without taking into account the humanizing qualities of individual and collective life. It was stressed time after time that a crucial weakness in the structure of society is the absence of political will, not only towards the democratization of education but also towards the democratization of society. In order for lifelong learning to become a reality it was pointed out that people should live in a context that encourages them to want to learn.

The writing on lifelong education and lifelong learning at this time was a strange mixture of global abstractions, utopian aspirations, and narrow practical questions that often lost sight of the overall idea. The first generation's idea with its roots in humanistic traditions and utopian vision quickly disappeared from the public discourse.

Driven by a different ideology with different goals and dreams the idea reappeared in the latter part of the 1980s. Judging from national policy documents as well as those coming from intergovernmental organizations like EU, OECD and UNESCO it is evident that lifelong learning has become the New Jerusalem by promising to solve some of the economic and social problems facing the industrialized world. The discourse on the second generation of lifelong learning is, at its core, almost exclusively structured around an "economistic" world view. In view of the broader political developments it is hardly surprising that policy documents on lifelong learning from various countries written since the 1980s reflect an erosion of commitment to equality. Instead the concerns are with accountability, standards, relevance to the needs of the economy and cost effectiveness.

Interestingly the second generation of lifelong learning has seen a stronger commitment to the life-wide aspect of the idea. For example OECD has replaced its former concept of recurrent education with the broader idea of lifelong learning. This coincides with a noticeable change in OECD's interpretation: from a narrow focus on higher and secondary education, to the broader perspective of lifelong learning. "Ministers agreed to focus on how to make learning a process extending from early age through retirement, and occurring in schools, the workplace and many other settings." (Op. Cite. P.3.). The life-wide aspect is not confined to non-formal education. At the very core of lifelong learning is the informal or "everyday" learning, positive or negative, which occurs in day-to-day life (Dohmen, 1996, p.46). Here, the issue is the nature and structure of everyday experiences, and their consequences for a person's learning processes, ways of thinking, and competencies. What challenges do people face? What possibilities do these challenges create, not only for restrictive forms of learning, but also for investigative learning promoting new ways of acting (see Engeström, 1994)? From a lifelong angle, it becomes important to observe how, during the course of a life cycle, motivation is closely related to the structure and processes of day-to-day situations, and to what extent it promotes motivation to engage in organized learning activities and/or investigative learning (Rubenson, 1997b). It is this position that informs the theoretical perspective put forward in this paper.

Theoretical Framework

This study is conducted in the tradition of social and cultural reproduction. As Moorow and Torres (1995) point out it is high time to return to this theme in educational research.

The preoccupation with motivation in research on participation resulted in an emphasis on the individual and psychological theory. The societal aspects are not ignored. On the contrary, commonly theories assume that participation is understood in terms of interaction between an individual and his or her environment. However, the focus and conceptual apparatus is clearly psychological oriented. Structural factors and/ or public policy decisions are not directly addressed but are at best treated as a vague background when explaining whether or not an individual will participate. An understanding of how these factors in of themselves can constitute barriers is commonly ignored. Further, the societal processes that govern these structures are not part of theories on participation.

Knowledge about how the individual interprets the world cannot by itself give an understanding of readiness to learn. Only when we also include structural factors and analyze the interaction between them and the individual conceptual apparatus does an interpretation become possible. Adults' readiness to learn and barriers preventing it - in its broadest interpretation - can be understood in terms of societal processes and structure, institutional processes and structure and individual consciousness and activity. Applying this to the expectancy-valence paradigm on participation one has to take into account the crucial "circumstances" in which expectancy and value get socially constructed. In accordance with (Giddens, 1984:xxi). there is a dualism between structure and agent and it is important to focus also on processes through which a human being as an active agent governs his/her relationship with adult education.

The link between societal processes and structure and institutional processes as they relate to adult education and training depend to a large extent on the possibilities and limits of the state. As Carnoy (1995:p3) argues that there are crucial differences in what adult education attempts to do and can do in different socio-political structures. Thus, the funding regimes and provision of adult education as well as eventual regulations around private sector adult education and training will depend on the political strength of the various collectives. Public policy on funding regimes and provision of adult education can be understood in terms of various forms of welfare state (see Esping-Andersen, 1989). The liberal welfare state with its means-tested assistance and modest universal transfers caters mainly to a clientele of low-income dependents and would see adult education mainly as a way of getting people off welfare. Participation would mainly be left to market forces and entitlements are strict and often associated with stigma. The social democratic welfare state, according to Esping-Andersen, rather than tolerating a dualism between state and market, between working class and middle class promotes an equality of the highest standard not an equality of minimal needs. The state will take a more active role and be more concerned about inequalities in participation.

In terms of institutional barriers we have to look at "the politics of adult education and training opportunities" including financial support. From this perspective, the fact that adult education and training is only slowly being recognized as an important and integrate component of a strategy for lifelong learning for all, can be seen as a major barrier. For close to ten years OECD reports, as well as other policy literature, have stressed the vital importance of adult education and training. One therefore has to wonder at the limited attention it receives in national educational policies (Rubenson, 1997). Also there is a reluctance to address the old question of divided responsibilities between public and private sectors for educating and training adults. The issue for the state is the extent to which it should interfere in the "training market." So far governments, regardless of political color, have been cautious about interfering in the training market.

From the perspective of individual consciousness and activity, adults'readiness to learn can partly be understood in terms of Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The latter is a system of dispositions that allows and governs how a person acts, thinks and orients him/herself in the social world. This system of dispositions is a result of social experiences, collective memories, ways of thinking that have been engraved in the mind. Bourdieu's theory rests on the idea that habitus, formed by the life they have lived, govern individuals conceptions and practice and in this way contribute to the reproduction of the social world and sometimes - in the occurrence of lacking agreement between habitus and the social world - to change. A given habitus facilitates a certain distinct set of strategies that in relation to the social situation provides the individual with certain room to act. In this respect the behavior is seen as a result of human agency. Through socialization within the family, in the school and, later on, in working life, a positive disposition toward adult education becomes a part of some groups' habitus but not of others classes. This is in accordance with findings from longitudinal studies which have revealed a strong link between cultural oriented processes in the home - educational experiences - and cultural behavior in adulthood (see e.g. Härnqvist, 1989). The extent to which "objective" institutional and situational factors come to act as barriers will consequently depend on what habitus a person has come to develop and how this results in a certain interpretation of the value and expectancy of the outcome of actively engaging in some form of learning activity.

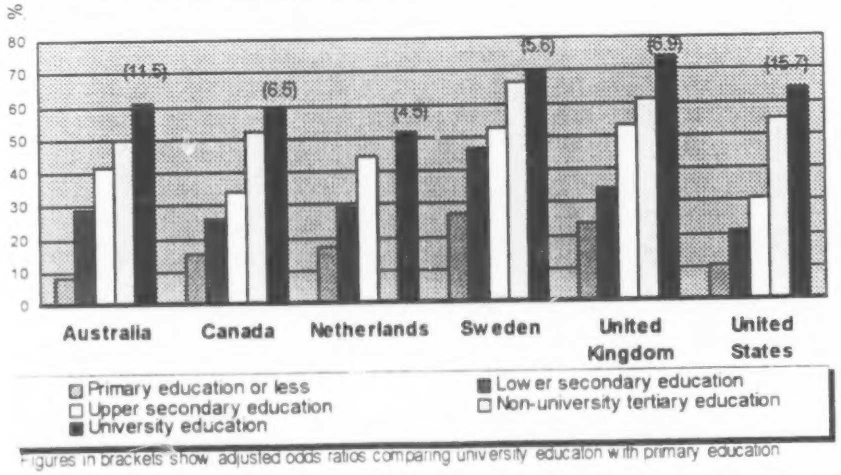
Research Design

The study involves secondary analysis of data collected as part of the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS), which is a collaborative effort by 12 countries with the support of OECD, UNESCO and the European Union. The IALS dataset consists of a large sample of adults (ranging from 1500 to 8000 per country) in Belgium, Canada, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the US. The persons involved in the study were given the same wide-ranging test of their literacy skills and a questionnaire collecting information about family background and literacy practices in the home, work situation, leisure activities and involvement in everyday learning activities as well as organised forms of adult education and training. Using multivariate analysis (logistic regression) these data have been used to critically examine who is involved in different forms of lifelong learning, the barriers to lifelong learning and the structural inequality in learning opportunities.

Findings, Conclusions and Implications

The IALS data clearly show that readiness to learn as an adult can be explained by "the long arm of the family." There exists a strong link between an individual's level of functional literacy and the literate culture of the family in which the person grew up. While roots are established during childhood, readiness for learning is further fostered by the educational system. The same social and cultural forces that are behind the relationship between early literacy and family background also link the distribution of educational attainment as well as reading and writing habits as an adult across different socio-economic groups (OECD,1997). Not surprisingly, participation in adult education and training increases with the level of education: the higher the educational attainment, the more likely a person is to participate (see Figure 1.).

FIGURE 1
Per cent of population aged 16-65 participating in adult education and training by level of educational attainment, 1994-1995



Figures in brackets show adjusted odds ratios comparing university educaton with primary education

Looking at the United States as an example, only 11per cent of those with a primary education or less participate in adult education and training, compared with 64 per cent among those with a university education.

The long arm of the family --as reflected in the relationship between social background, educational attainment and participation in adult education-- is noticeable in each of the countries, but seems stronger in some than in others.

Figure 1, shows that the differences in likelihood between those with a very short education and those with a university degree are particularly large in the USA and Australia. The likelihood of Americans with a university degree participating in some form of adult education and training is 15.7 times higher than that of Americans with a primary education. In the Netherlands and Sweden, the differences between those with little previous education and those with extensive education are smaller than in the other countries. In Sweden, the high level of participation and somewhat lower level of inequality might be explained by the country's long history of adult education. Other important factors are a large publicly funded voluntary sector and funding earmarked for recruiting groups with low readiness to participate. This involves funds for outreach activities at work and in the community and study assistance for long and short courses. In the Netherlands there has been an attempt in recent years to strengthen the adult education sector and to find new ways to combine private initiatives with the committed involvement of social partners. Thus, the data suggest that while the long arm of the family will always be present, public policy can somewhat reduce its impact on readiness to participate in adult education and training. Further, a realistic policy on lifelong learning for all must be based on an understanding that, thanks to the long arm of the family, not all adults are ready to make use of existing opportunities for education and training. If a strategy's point of departure is the notion that adults are completely self-directed individuals in possession of the tools necessary to seize on adult education opportunities then that strategy is doomed to widen, not narrow, the educational and cultural gaps in society.

IALS data on participation and everyday learning confirm an influence perhaps best characterized as "the long arm of the job": the increased importance of adult education and training as investment. The increase in employer-supported activities is a dramatic change that has radically altered the landscape of adult education over the last two decades.

About half of all participants attend an employer-supported course. The importance of the employer is particularly striking in the United Kingdom and the United States. In the U.K. two out of three participate in a course supported by the employer. While employer-supported education reaches a large number of people, the duration is substantially shorter than for non-employer-supported activities. In all countries, women benefit less often than men do from employer support for their education; they must instead rely on alternate sources -- mainly, self-financing.

The strong influence of the world of work is also evident in motives to engage in education and training. Not only do participants supported by their employer almost exclusively give job-related motives but also a large proportion of participants in courses not sponsored by their employer report reasons linked to job and career. This is particularly the case in the Anglo-Saxon countries

As adult education becomes increasingly linked to work, strategies for lifelong learning for all must **recognize** the inequality in receiving employer support for education and training. It is also important to consider how the work setting frames the nature and quality of everyday learning taking place, and the extent to which it fosters a readiness to seek non-employer-supported education. The analyses show that the likelihood of an employee receiving some support for education and training from the employer is related to the size of the company that one happens to be working in, occupational status and the engagement in literacy activities at work. In general, it is a handicap to work in a small or medium- sized company when it comes to benefiting from employer-supported education and training. There is a very clear relationship between occupational status and employer support for education and training. Factors like size of company and occupational status are mainly a proxy for situations at work that influence training decisions but do not say anything about the actual nature of the job and the training needs that are associated with it. It is therefore of interest to look closer at the relationship between reported use of literacy at work extent of employer supported education and training. The study reveals a strong connection between employer support and the use of literacy on the job. The more demands that are made on the use of literacy skills the more likely it is that the employer will invest in an employee's education and training.

These findings shift the discussion on a strategy for lifelong learning for all from a narrow supply question to a demand issue. Both the employer's willingness to support an individual's learning activities and the person's own incentive for investing in learning are strongly influenced by the actual opportunity to use literacy skills at work. Persons outside the labour market or in undemanding jobs are clearly up against a barrier with regard to both learning itself and their readiness for it. This, in combination with the fact that publicly funded adult education is increasingly related to work and employer support, is the reality in which a strategy for lifelong learning for all must be grounded.

The overall conclusion is that every country in the IALS study faces major challenges in extending lifelong learning to the least qualified. The large numbers of adults with a low literacy level are a ticking time bomb. Worse, the analyses reveal that these people, who are most in need of expanding their learning, seldom participate in adult education and training and spend little time engaged in everyday reading either at or outside work. The problem goes beyond disadvantaged groups not participating in learning that can improve their situation; they often also find themselves in contexts at or outside work that do not stimulate a readiness to engage in learning. Thus, before discussing policy options, it is necessary to begin with a basic assumption: lifelong learning for all can only be achieved in a society that actively engages and make demands on the literacy skills of *all* its citizens Lifelong learning for all . It is conditional on a working life organized in a way that promotes the use of literacy, and a society where people are encouraged to think, act, and be engaged.

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Identifying Research Strategies for the Future: Alternatives to the Traditional Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract: This study was designed to explore the attitudes and opinions of experts in the fields of adult education and vocational education toward future doctoral research needs and toward potential alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation. A three round Delphi and semi-structured interviews were used to gather data.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study was to determine if there are viable alternative research strategies, other than the traditional doctoral dissertation, which would be more beneficial to future doctoral students in order to compete in their future professional roles in an information intensive society. A secondary purpose was to discover which research competencies and/or research experiences will be required of future doctoral graduates in order to compete in their future professional roles in an information intensive society.

Introduction

Since *A Nation at Risk: The Full Account* was first published in 1984, the education system in the United States has been under scrutiny. The National Commission on Excellence in Education asked the nation to make a commitment to reforming education, calling upon the ". . . scholarly, scientific, and learned societies for their help in this effort ..." in order to secure the future role of the United States in the world (A Nation At Risk, 1984, p. 84). That plea placed a responsibility on the universities and colleges of the United States to better prepare students to compete in their future roles. Preparing future doctoral graduates for their professional roles may be the most challenging responsibility placed upon universities (Bowen & Schulster, 1986).

> Considering the contribution that holders of doctorates can make to educational institutions, to the gross national product of countries through scientific research and development work, and to the intellectual and cultural life of nations, and noting that the economic, educational and political realities of the future are international in scope, the responsibilities placed on future doctoral graduates will no doubt increase greatly. (Noble, 1994, p. 35)

To meet these new responsibilities and requirements, the doctoral student will be required to be a competent researcher.

The steady growth of research and development in the economy of the United States requires doctoral programs to produce competent researchers (Cetron, Rocha, & Luckins, 1988). Those researchers must have the knowledge, skills, and competencies to compete in a global economy. "The biggest single action in higher education that will influence the future of the nation is to improve the research capacity of American institutions" (Kerr, 1986, p. 2).

Review of Literature: At a Glance.

The review of literature revealed that changes in attitude are necessary before alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation will be accepted within the academe. Doctoral degrees have been an integral part of higher education worldwide "...since the first was conferred in Paris circa 1150" (Noble, 1994, p. 1.). Eight centuries later, the acquisition of that degree has remained relatively unchanged (Noble, 1994). The unwillingness to change seems steeped in tradition. Excellence in higher education has often been judged by the rigors of that tradition and by those who had the stamina to complete the doctoral degree. "Indeed, the doctoral experience might be viewed as the academic manifestation of the principle of 'survival of the fittest' " (Beeler, 1993, p. 5). The single most important element of that academic manifestation has been the completion of the doctoral dissertation.

The struggle to change the status quo within doctoral programs in not new. The traditional role of the doctoral dissertation has been a controversial issue in higher education for many years. In his now famous 1903 address, *The Ph.D. Octopus*, William James questioned the value of having those three important initials behind one's name. James asserts that the important credentials for academic success should not be based upon a badge or diploma. While the primary focus of James' paper was to make suggestions for remediation of the overall structure of higher education, a secondary focus was on the inflexible traditions held by higher education. Perhaps the title of his paper, *The Ph.D. Octopus*, serves as a reminder of the restrictive nature of the tentacles of the traditional doctoral dissertation.

> Advertised as the degree that is based upon evidence of original thinking and the use of research tools, the fact of the matter is that the dissertation is so hemmed in with mossbacked traditions that original work is nigh impossible. (Atkinson, 1939, p. 59)

Many who seek a doctoral degree are disillusioned by the dissertation experience (Atkinson, 1939). The traditional doctoral dissertation requirement seems to be at the heart of the disillusionment. It is that component of the doctoral degree and the suggestion of alternative research strategies, other than the dissertation, which were addressed in this research.

Possibly, the greatest testimony to the need for looking at alternative research strategies is the all but dissertation (ABD) phenomena. The ABD phenomena is a chilling issue in the field of higher education. At the heart of this disturbing phenomena is a human being who, for one reason or another, abandoned his/her dream and became a statistic on the attrition list of some college or university. The literature overwhelmingly suggests that the most significant barriers to completion of the doctoral degree are financial problems and the dissertation process. When examining the literature on barriers to completion of the doctoral degree, it would seem as though time stood still. An historical perspective presented in this research indicated that the issues surrounding the barriers to completion of the doctoral degree have changed very little in the past 30 years (Wilson, 1965; Madsen, 1983; Buckly & Hooley, 1988; Germeroth, 1991). Each researcher represented a different time period (1965, 1983, 1988, 1991), yet many of the same barriers served as obstacles to completion of the doctoral degree. While researchers traverse time, the one constant is that the resounding theme for the ABD phenomena is the dissertation process. Perhaps the best solution to the "All But Dissertation" phenomena lies within the existing doctoral programs. "If we are to rescue the ABD 'at risk' population in American higher education, we must deal with the issues of efficiency, excellence, and equity" (Hanson, 1992, p.17). The dissertation process embraces all three issues.

> The loss of students during the dissertation phase is a significant problem...Failure to successfully finish or extensively delay in finishing graduate research, may be a personal tragedy for individual students, but it is also a wasteful, negative situation for departments and institutions. (Goulden, 1991, pp. 39-40)

In an information intensive society, we are faced with "...the need to clarify campus missions and relate the work of the academy more directly to the realities of contemporary life" (Boyer, 1990, p. 13). Perhaps it is time to redefine the role and relevance of the dissertation within the doctoral program.

The fate of research is in the hands of research institutions. Team approaches to problem solving coupled with the explosion of knowledge readily available in our information intensive society cause one to question the value of the traditional dissertation "...as a narrow piece of isolated research" (Beeler, 1993, p. 9). That the dissertation, as the crowning achievement of academic success, continues to maintain a strong foothold in the American system of higher education is undeniable (Hanson, 1992). Perhaps, a more meaningful approach for demonstrating one's ability to conduct research is needed. "Success in most academic fields is determined by articles and scholarly publications, not tiresome reviews of literature and three-hundred-page monstrosities" (Solomon & Solomon, 1993, p. 108). The challenge that faces research institutions will be their willingness to change how they view doctoral programs and doctoral students.

"Every advance in education is made over the dead bodies of 10,000 resisting professors" (Hutchins quoted in Noble, 1994, p. 63). Those most resistant tend to be ingrained in the traditions of the doctoral degree, namely the dissertation.

> ...many tenure committees will not accept a dissertation, even a dissertation revised, as scholarly work. Thus they admit in one role what they will not admit in another - namely, that after all that nonsense, the dissertation does not really count at all. We tell our students, "It's not your first professional work, much less your *magnum opus*. It's your last student work." Indeed, why should it be required at all? (Solomon & Solomon, 1993, p. 109).

That the dissertation requirement should be totally eliminated was never the contention of this study. The dissertation will continue to play an integral role in doctoral education; however, this research asked that viable alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation be considered by the academe.

Alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation have received little attention in the literature, especially in the fields of vocational and adult and continuing education. Thorson's study examined the attitudes of professors of adult education toward doctoral research (1973). Several studies have been conducted concerning the role of the dissertation process and how to best improve that process. Solomon and Solomon, 1993, call for an end to the traditional dissertation in favor of practical products such as publications in scholarly journals. Some of the conclusions of the remaining studies reviewed (Murphy & Hallinger, 1987; The Council of Graduate Deans, 1991; Van Patten, Denny, & Bolding, 1991; Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992; Denny, Bolding, & Van Patten, 1993) call for improved advising, shortening the dissertation, and practical application for the Ed.D. dissertation. Most of the studies did not address the relevance of alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation as a primary focus of the study.

Design and Methodology

Two approaches were used in this research to investigate viable alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation and future research needs: the Delphi method and Semi-structured interviews. The two methodologies were chosen because of their appropriateness to the research questions being asked. A survey was sent to 191 members listed in the 1995 membership directory of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE) and to the 384 members listed in the 1995 membership directory for the American Vocational Education Research Association (AVERA). All members from the United States were sent the survey. The combined 575 person membership were asked to identify individuals whom they considered to be on the cutting edge of research. A purposive sample of 22 expert panelists were chosen based on the number of nominations received by their peers. The sample was evenly divided with 11 of the experts representing the CPAE and 22 of the experts representing the AVERA. The panel members participated in a three round Delphi. The first round provided a definition of a traditional dissertation and asked the panel members to respond to two probes with that definition in mind. The first asked them to list statements of alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation which may be valuable to future doctoral graduates in order to compete in their future professional roles in an information intensive society. The second probe asked them to list at least three statements of research competencies and/or research experiences which doctoral graduates must have to compete in their future professional roles in an information intensive society. In addition, the 22 panel members were asked to fill out a demographic data sheet and at the bottom of that sheet the panel members were asked to identify mavericks in the field who had successfully challenged the traditional doctoral dissertation by adapting an alternative strategy. From those suggestions, four individuals were identified as mavericks, by their peers, in his/her area of expertise. Those four individuals were asked to participate in a face-to-face semi-structured interview. As a result of those interviews with the four mavericks, a fifth person was interviewed. None of the individuals who were identified as mavericks by the Delphi panelists served on the Delphi panel.

Summary of Findings

When comparing the data in the two classifications of "alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation" and "needed research competencies and/or experiences," it became readily apparent that the panel of experts believed that there are a limited number of viable alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation. It further indicated that the panel of experts believed that doctoral graduates should possess an enormous number of research competencies and/or participate in an enormous number of research experiences.

The CPAE panel members were more accepting of alternatives to the traditional dissertation than were AVERA panel members as evidenced by the number of statements that each group found to be acceptable as viable alternatives. The CPAE panel members found that 10 of the 22 statements were viable alternatives, while the AVERA panel members found only six alternatives acceptable. The panel members as a whole were unable to strongly agree that any of the 22 statements were viable alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation. They were able to agree that the following ten condensed statements are viable alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation: (1) "Nonempirical" studies, such as philosophical, historical, or conceptual analyses - Mean = 4.476. (2) The rigor of dissertations should remain the same; however, a different "package" for presenting the finished product is a viable alternative to the traditional dissertation format (e.g. CD-ROM or hypertext program, video, multi-media, submitted electronically, audio and/or visual descriptions of the study, making copies available to others via the Internet) - Mean = 4.380. (3) Co-authored dissertations, representing collaborative projects with other doctoral students - Mean = 3.785. (4) Synthesis and analysis of previously related literature to formulate new ideas - Mean = 3.619. (5) A series of scholarly, refereed, published materials - Mean = 3.571. (6) Participatory action research projects which involve practitioners as researchers within a shared area of concern - Mean = 3.547. (7) A collaborative (group) research study, with one or multiple products - Mean = 3.547. (8) High quality research based projects which contribute to the knowledge base and link theory to practice - Mean = 3.523. (9) Generating a "work" which represents (A) theoretical and research background preparation, (B) application of conceptual ideas to the creation of a "work", and © presentation of the work with adequate theoretical-conceptual background and documentation of judgment by an expert panel - Mean = 3.523. (10) Project dissertations in which a systematic approach is applied to a problem or to practice (e.g. development and testing of a video or written material for training and development, successful change in teaching methods in a field, community based education projects, educational partnership projects) - Mean = 3.500. A Kendall W for Round III, Probe One statements of alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation resulted in a coefficient of W = .8387 which indicates a fairly high level of agreement among panel members. This is not to say that the panel of experts agree with the 22 statements as viable alternatives to the dissertation. What it does imply is that their is substantial agreement among referent groups (CPAE and AVERA) as to the relative ranking for each of the 22 statements of viable alternatives generated by the panel members.

The second Delphi probe asked the panel members to identify research competencies and/or experiences that will be needed by doctoral graduates to be competitive in their professional roles. The panel members as a whole were able to strongly agreed upon nine of the 30 statements. Such statements as (1)' Doctoral graduates should have the ability to synthesize information, draw conclusions, and develop recommendations based on research findings in order to develop conceptual and theoretical frameworks for research studies' and (2)' Doctoral graduates should be able to propose and define a problem, indicate why that problem is important, and place their findings in perspective with what is known' were among those strong agreed upon. The panel members agreed upon an additional 15 competencies and/or research experiences as needed by doctoral graduates to compete in their future professional roles in an information intensive society.

To supplement and enhance the findings of the Delphi component of the study, five individuals, who were perceived to be mavericks by their peers, were selected and interviewed to obtain practical data about their experiences with alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation. In analyzing the transcriptions of the interviews, ten recurrent themes were identified: (1) dissertations are culminating projects or experiences, (2) the culminating project or experience must maintain the rigor of research, (3) there are no model dissertations, (4) dissertations are very political, (5) the traditional research paradigm leaves little room for change, (6) committee members work with and for the student, (7) written documentation of research fosters accessibility, (8) non-traditional programs nurture non-traditional dissertations, (9) non-traditional programs require the support of one's colleagues, and (10) non-traditional programs are similar in design.

Conclusions

Doctoral granting universities and colleges continue to view the dissertation as the crowning achievement for their highest degree. Challenging this traditional academic requirement as the sole viable culminating experience to the doctoral degree was the focal point of this study. The role of research is integral to the dissertation process; it was for that reason that the second probe asking for needed research competencies and/or experiences was incorporated into the study. The Delphi panel of experts verified that there are alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation by choosing ten such alternatives; however, only two of the ten alternatives chosen could be considered viable because the other eight statements addressed issues that did not represent alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation. Of the two viable alternatives agreed upon by the panel, one dealt with the presentation of the finished product and not with the dissertation itself. At this point in time there appears to be few viable alternatives to the traditional doctoral dissertation that would be accepted within colleges and universities. There were several possible alternative identified by the panel of experts; however, they panel members could not agree on *viable* alternatives. In order to implement several of the suggested alternatives, graduate programs will have to modify the existing dissertation process and product requirements. While the study clearly suggests that changes are needed in the dissertation component of the doctoral degree, the implementation and acceptance of those changes are questionable. Until a viable alternative which replicates the intent of the dissertation is agreed upon, it is unlikely that the traditional doctoral dissertation will be changed within the academe. While CPAE panel members were more willing to accept alternatives to the traditional dissertation than were AVERA panel members, CPAE members were extremely conservative in the selection of those viable alternatives. The acceptance of 24 of the 30 recommended competencies indicates the importance placed on research and the overall value of the research process within adult education and vocational education.

Closing Comments

One does not have to reinvent the wheel to make the research process meaningful to the doctoral student. Often time, all that is needed is reshaping what already exists. The problems that are facing doctoral programs continue to exist and to multiply. Perhaps, the solution to those problems lie, not with existing strategies and traditional programs, but within the framework of an emergent paradigm embraced by those paradigm pioneers who are not willing to settle in and never take risks. Incorporating a risk taking philosophy into doctoral programs may foster the research process as well as promote the timely completion of the culminating project or experience. "Ultimately, now and in the future much of the success or failure of doctoral education hangs on the role and nature of the dissertations" (Hamilton, 1993, p.55).

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An Analysis Of Self-Efficacy, Welfare Status, And Occupational Choice Among Female Single Parents

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Abstract. The concept of self-efficacy has been proposed as a possible explanation why women are deterred from pursuing higher paying, traditionally male occupations. This study sampled 199 women pursuing occupational training in Vocational-Technical Institutes to obtain some measure of occupational self-efficacy and compare those measures by non-traditional occupational training and welfare status.

Introduction

The concept of self-efficacy has been proposed as a construct that explains why women choose traditionally female careers by Hackett and Betz (1981), Lent and Hackett (1987). Neville and Schlecker (1988), Stringer and Duncan (1985) and Whiston (1993) found that women in their research samples exhibited lower confidence and expectations of their abilities toward nontraditional occupations than toward traditionally female occupations. Moreover, Benjamin and Stewart (1989) proposed the usefulness of the self-efficacy concept in understanding the factors that lead to welfare dependency and the connection between public assistance and participation in the workforce. They found lower levels of self-efficacy and lessened work orientation in individuals who had received assistance for greater lengths of time. On the other hand D'Andrea and Daniels (1992) developed a motivational program to increase self-efficacy among welfare mothers which they maintain was successful.

Criticism of the welfare system in recent years has led to efforts to find ways to move welfare recipients to gainful employment. Between 1992 and 1993, 36 states have been approved by the Department of Health, Education and Human Services to introduce innovations related to welfare reform. These innovations include introducing time limits on benefits, work requirements related to benefits, and caps on increases in family size during the eligibility period (U.S. Department of HEHS, 1996). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of August 22, 1996, requires adults to return to work after two years of benefits and limits lifetime benefits to five years.

In this environment, the poverty and welfare issue of a sizable portion of our population, heavily female, appears open to unfair manipulation by politicians. In this environment, women who are single parents risk even greater marginalization unless interventions can be made to assist them in training for occupations that will help them enter the mainstream of society. Yet the poverty and welfare issue is complex and closely related to educational attainment. The U.S. Department of Education (1994) reported 67.5% of working women over 25 who had less than high school completion earned less than $12,500 annually as did 47.8% of women over 25 who had a high school diploma or a GED certificate. Those women in the above statistics who are single parents, of course, have incomes below the poverty level. This prompts Hodgkinson (1991) to refer to the feminization of poverty and to lament the effect this poverty has on the next generation. Indeed, 23% of American children, birth to age five, live in poverty. The majority of these children in poverty live with female single parents, may of whom work full time, but at low-income service jobs (Hodgkinson, 1991).

Problem Addressed in this Study

The current climate of public opinion is one of discontent with the nation's welfare system. The discontent focuses on growth in caseloads, rising costs, and the perception that the welfare system fosters long-term dependency among beneficiaries. A consensus seems to exist among taxpayers, practitioners, politicians and even welfare recipients themselves that the traditional AFDC program should be changed to place a greater emphasis on increasing self-sufficiency of the recipient. The U.S. Congress has promoted self-sufficiency through legislation making benefits temporary, and thus, in the mind of Congress encouraging employment. Funding for training exists through JTPA, although this program serves only a small percentage of the targeted population. Moreover, many in the targeted population lack self-esteem and, as described in the literature, are low in self-efficacy. As a result, so the argument goes, these women choose traditional female service occupations that pay lower wages, making it difficult for them to bring themselves and their children out of poverty.

Theoretical Framework Guiding the Study

Bandura (1977) defined self-efficacy as expectations and beliefs about one's ability to successfully perform a given behavior. Strength of self-efficacy determines whether behavior will be initiated, how much effort will be expended, and how long it will be maintained in the face of obstacles or aversive experiences. It is acquired and altered through performance, accomplishment, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion and emotional arousal. Self-efficacy is not a passive trait or characteristic, but rather a dynamic aspect of the self-system that interacts with the environment and with other motivational mechanisms. Lent and Hackett (1987, p. 348) stated, "self-efficacy determines what we do with the skills we have."

Benjamin and Stewart (1989) proposed the usefulness of the self-efficacy construct in understanding the factors affecting welfare dependency and the connection between receipt of public assistance and participation in the workforce. These researchers theorized that the mastery of behaviors needed for labor market success, including obtaining the appropriate educational credentials, has a direct effect on one's self-efficacy which, in turn, influences future choices about participation in the labor market. London and Greller (1991) pointed out that women can be blocked from career opportunities as effectively by their own beliefs and assumptions as they can by the discriminatory practices of others in the labor market.

Method

The purpose of the study was to analyze measures of self-efficacy among female single parents enrolled in vocational training as the construct relates to the receipt of welfare and occupational choice. The study was exploratory in nature and did not move beyond existing, intact groups from displaced homemaker programs at Vocational-Technical Institutes in Oklahoma The design chosen was a 2 X 2 analysis of variance using the Linear Model of analysis on the SPSS program for micro-computers. The independent variables were welfare status and occupational choice. Levels of welfare status were welfare/non-welfare. Levels of occupational choice were traditional female occupation/non-traditional occupation.

The dependent variable, self-efficacy, was measured using a modified version of the Occupational Self-Efficacy Scale (OSES) that was developed by Betz and Hackett (1981). Permission was obtained from the instrument authors both to use the instrument and to modify it for use on this particular population. The OSES was developed as a "measure of general occupational self-efficacy, as an aid to help explain the continued under-representation of women in traditionally-male dominated careers (Betz & Hackett, 1993, p. 6)." Form B of the OSES was used which lists 10 traditionally female occupations and 10 traditionally males occupations for a total of 20 items. Each of the 20 items requires respondents to mark a confidence level for that particular occupation on a zero to nine Likert type scale.

Content validity for the instrument derives from descriptions of domains of interest coming from the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor (Betz & Hackett, 1981). Using this source they defined traditional female occupations as those in which 70% or more of the workforce were women, and nontraditional occupations as those in which women comprised 30% or less of the workforce.

The Manual for the OSES (Betz & Hackett, 1993) includes various reliability coefficients from other studies which have used the instrument. These coefficients range from .91 for the traditionally female occupations to .92 for the traditionally male occupations, with an alpha coefficient of .94 for the total measure. Test-retest reliability for a one-week interval were reported to yield coefficients of .55 to .70.

For the purposes of this study, the occupations were examined to determine if they met the current definition of traditional and nontraditional occupations appropriate to Oklahoma in 1997. The State of Oklahoma 1995 Labor Force Information Manual for Affirmative Action Programs (Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, 1995). Information from this manual clearly indicated that the original occupations used in Betz and Hackett's 1981 study needed to be changed to meet the criteria of 30%/70% originally established by them. Hence the OSES was modified to more accurately reflect the current Oklahoma labor force. To make the occupations both realistic and comparable in terms of educational levels required, the modified occupations were obtained from Oklahoma Workforce 2000: Labor Supply and Demand (Oklahoma Dept. of Vocational and Technical Education, 1996). Once the 20 occupations were determined, they were randomly sorted for item sequence. The instrument along with added questions to identify seven demographic characteristics of the respondents was pilot tested yielding reliability coefficients of .97 across the entire scale and .97 for traditionally male, and .90 for traditionally female occupations.

Because the 2 X 2 design required a minimum number of subjects to fill each of four cells for analysis purposes, the sample was based on a quota above all other considerations. An effort was made to select a sample of 200 subjects from the population of interest. The population consisted of female heads of household who were single parents, aged 18 to 40 years old, who were attending vocational-technical schools in Oklahoma. All subjects were currently enrolled in the Displaced Homemaker/Single Parent programs in the Vocational-Technical system in Oklahoma.

Results

Instrument packets (610 of them) were mailed in early April to fourteen Coordinators of Single Parent/Displaced Homemaker programs in Oklahoma. Coordinators were purposely selected according to the number of enrollees reported in their programs. Two hundred and forty nine completed questionnaires were returned. Nineteen were excluded because they were incomplete; 31 were excluded because the demographics did not fall within the sampling frame. Their were 199 valid responses for a return rate of 25%.

The average ages of the respondents was 27.8 years, the median age was 27. Fifty-nine percent (n=118) of the subjects reported their single parent status as divorced or separated; 38% (n=76) were never married; less than 3% were widowed. One hundred and thirteen (57%) of the total sample was receiving welfare benefits. Of the 86 women not receiving welfare, 39 were receiving food stamps which meant that over 76% of the sample qualified as economically disadvantaged. They were better educated than national figures warrant reporting 10.6% lacked a diploma, a far better rate than that reported by the National Institute for Literacy (1994).

Because the response rate resulted in unbalanced cell sizes, the proposed ANOV was abandoned in favor of the General Linear Model (GLM). This procedure was intended to analyze the main effects of the independent variables, as well as any interaction. The differences in self-efficacy scores between women on welfare and those not on welfare was not significant (F = .34, probability >.05), with the mean scores for welfare recipients being 11.4, while the mean scores for non-welfare recipients was 11.7. The differences in self-efficacy scores between women enrolled in non-traditional occupational training programs and those enrolled in traditionally female programs were not significant (F=1.69, p >.05), with comparative mean scores of 10.5 and 10.9 respectively. Nor did the analysis of self-efficacy scores reveal any interaction.

Discussion

With the exception of a few individuals, none of the subgroups in the study reported low self-efficacy scores. Total scale scores ranged from .4 to 18 out of 18 possible points. If the scale were to be arbitrarily divided at mid point, 67% of the total sample would be above the mid-point on the scale. Moreover, this positive skew was also evident in the traditionally male occupations. Of all groups, 54% would fall above the mid-point on the scale of self-efficacy for male oriented occupations. However, where only 54% of the entire sample exhibited self-efficacy scores above the mid-point on traditionally male occupations, 77% of the entire sample scored above the mid-point on the self-efficacy scale for traditionally female occupations. Thus, while there was no significant difference in self-efficacy scores between subgroups, a larger percentage of the women were more confident in their abilities to be successful at traditionally female careers than toward traditionally male careers. This echoes Nevill and Schleckers' (1988) finding that both the high and low self-efficacy women in their study showed a higher degree of self-efficacy toward traditionally female occupations.

Further analysis showed that nuisance variables may have unduly influenced the results of this study. Because the age ranges were great in the study, 18 - 40, not using age as a covariate, might have muddied the study, since, according to Hackett and Betz (1981), Nevill and Schlecker (1988) and Stringer and Duncan (1985) older members of the four groups might have received greater socialization to traditionally female occupations than the younger members. The same observation was made by Read (1991) who found that no almost women over the age of 45 in her study enrolled in non-traditionally female occupational training.

Although the results of the study showed no differences in occupational self-efficacy between women pursuing non-traditionally female occupations and those pursuing traditionally female occupations, it also highlights the fact that a small percentage of women pursue and enter non-traditional careers. This fact has been identified in the literature (AAUW, 1995; Bowen, Desimone & McKay, 1995; Merriam & Caffarella, 1991 and National Newwork for Women's Employment, 1994). Occupational areas such as secretarial, health care and other service careers were over-represented among the research sample. Of the 199 women participating in the study, 132 were pursuing traditionally female careers.

Implications for Further Research

Further research should focus on why so few women train for higher wage, male-dominated occupations. Additional exploration of the self-efficacy construct and other variables that impel or deter women toward certain careers should be explored. In particular Whitson's (1993) theory that women are naturally inclined to work with people rather than things and therefore would have higher self-efficacy toward occupations dealing with people. Her study of 191 employed women found that higher self-efficacy scores were related to the kind of work involved, and that the women in her study showed higher scores related to tasks which involved person to person contact. Future research could well follow this line of inquiry as well as inquiry aimed at self-efficacy.

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Listening to the Student Voice in Adult Education

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Abstract: Tribal colleges are receiving much recognition for their successes. This study acknowledges the Crow Indian people as well as the involvement of Little Big Horn College in its own educational and social movement. The student voice represents an integral part of carrying out the institutional mission.

Introduction

Native American control of the post-secondary educational process in their communities came into sharp focus in the late 1960's. The tribal college movement began when the Navajo tribe challenged mainstream educational systems and developed their own programs and institutions for their own students and founded Navajo Community College in 1968. These community colleges came about because:

> a) Indian nations were experiencing very high dropouts at the state colleges and universities in the 1960's and early 1970's; b) scholarships available to tribal people were fairly limited; c) many Indian students didn't want to leave their families; d) Indian people didn't want to leave their place in the community; and e) it was very expensive for students to attend campuses away from home so economics was also an important [factor]....[Yet] the major reason tribal colleges started [was] to provide a means for tribal people to strengthen their own tribal nations....So cultural preservation is really the foundation of the tribal colleges. (Bordeaux, 1991, p. 12)

Tribal colleges are institutions for the education of adults (Conti & Fellenz, 1991). Today, 29 tribal colleges serve the diverse needs of approximately 25,000 students in 12 states. Through individual and concerted efforts, these schools have begun to impact Indian and non-Indian students in virtually every aspect of life. "Each institution is unique in how it attempts to organize and deliver services to Indian people" (Slater & O'Donnell, 1995, p. 38). Tribal colleges nationwide provide degrees in 350 programs and 179 vocation certificate programs of study to the students they serve (p. 38). "Together these colleges stand out as the most significant and successful development in Indian education history" (Boyer, 1989, p. 24).

The essential mission of each tribal college includes (a) providing a quality post-secondary education for certification, for two-year programs, or for a degree that is transferable to senior institutions; (b) providing services to the community; (c) providing a vocational education; and (d) offering a means by which the tribe(s) served may preserve their cultural integrity through the learning experience (Oppelt, 1984, p. 32). Encompassed in the mission of each college is the challenge to create and maintain practical services and programs that consider respective languages and cultures, appreciate the students' needs and backgrounds, and recognize individual learning styles, language skills, and the effects of language differences on learning and teaching styles (National Education Association, 1991).

Little Big Horn College. Little Big Horn College (LBHC), located in southeastern Montana, has become a premier institution for providing a tribal college education because of its many outstanding characteristics. The college was fully accredited in June of 1991 through the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges. A majority of it students are Crow tribal members.

Education has always been a high priority among the people on the Crow Reservation. In the late 1800's, one of the most noted Crow chiefs, Plenty Coups, said, "Education is your most powerful weapon. With education you are the white man's equal; without education you are his victim" (cited in Bryan, 1985, p. 90). Still evident today is the importance of becoming educated without giving up tribal identity. The Crow higher education philosophy espouses "the preservation and enhancement of the Crow Language and Culture while providing an up-to-date higher education opportunity to its students" (Pease-Windy Boy cited in Stein, 1992, p. 136). The essential mission of LBHC is to offer a general or transfer education, provide community service, afford vocational education opportunities, and offer a culturally-relevant learning experience.

Statement of the Problem

Tribal colleges are successfully meeting the unique educational needs of Native Americans; yet only a limited amount of research has been conducted to support this conclusion. While there are several studies (e.g., Conti & Fellenz, 1988; Dauphinais, 1981; Haymond, 1982; LaPointe, 1977; Hill, 1992; LeBeau, 1979; Oppelt, 1990; Wright, 1989) which have examined tribal college students, much of the literature expounds broad generalizations concerning a specific student attribute or is narrow in scope. Similarly, there is scant evidence of any discussion concerning the relationship between the tribal college mission and the students who attend tribal colleges.

Clearly, LBHC is succeeding in many ways, yet those successes have not been authenticated through the views of its students. In the case of individual students, no studies have been conducted to legitimately reveal their perspectives concerning the manner in which the college is fulfilling its mission. While it is apparent that LBHC students are respected as consumers of education, the link between the college mission and the intrinsic worth of that education must be better understood.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to elicit student perceptions of the LBHC mission. Five areas were investigated to determine (a) the experiences of students with the Crow culture and language at the college; (b) the value placed on their own education by the students; (c) the degree to which LBHC's programming meets the needs of each student; (d) the psychological and sociological barriers to education; and (e) the ways in which opportunities are provided through the college mission. The testimony of LBHC adult learners helped serve the purpose.

Methodology

This descriptive study utilized a naturalistic case study design. Purposeful sampling was used to select 28 participants for this study. The students sufficiently represented the wide range of characteristics among students at LBHC. Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were conducted with LBHC students regarding their individual experiences while attending LBHC and how those experiences were impacted by the tribal college mission. From these interviews, categorical information was established to delineate their perceptions of the overall institutional effectiveness. These perspectives revealed a comprehensive example of the interaction between student and institution among the people of the Crow Reservation.

Findings

Regarding the first area of investigation, it was found that LBHC is a thriving educational institution that is uniquely Crow. The Crow culture is prevalent nearly everywhere in the college. LBHC is a place where bilingual and bicultural people can pursue their education and not have to renounce their heritage. The traditions, history, language, and culture of the Crow people are intact at LBHC. There is a mutual exchange between student and school whereby cultural continuity and integrity are maintained.

Findings for the second critical area revealed that LBHC has an important role in maintaining institutional stability in the community. The students found LBHC to be a place for building basic skills and confidence and for enhancing self-esteem. It is an accessible institution and one that accommodates the needs of students. The college helps prepare students for transferring to senior, four-year colleges and universities.

The third category of inquiry showed how the experiences of the students in this study provide testimony to the high degree of satisfaction with LBHC meeting the academic needs of students. There are numerous opportunities to learn and meaningful applications to real life abound for this component of the LBHC mission. In respect to the general or transfer education, the vocational education interests, and the service to the community, LBHC has been successful in meeting the needs of its adult population.

Fourthly, it was found that the most pertinent issues related to student background include cultural factors, socio-economic status, and academic preparation. Students realized there were options and resources available to them while attending LBHC. There was nothing unique to the Crow lifeway that would hinder the psychological or sociological construct of the individual in respect to the educational process in effect at LBHC. To the contrary, there was some indication of traditional Crow teachings that might serve to enhance the ability to manage most constraints faced by the individual, group, or community. Similarly, the students at LBHC are in many cases like other adult learners who attend tribal and mainstream colleges.

The findings for the fifth and final area indicated that it is obvious that the college is making a difference in the lives of people on the Crow Reservation. The programming, services, and people associated with LBHC are guided by the mission of the college and make a culturally appropriate institution available to students and community members. The college has demonstrated its institutional commitment to serve a unique student population.

Recommendations

Recommendations for each of the five categories are presented in separate statements. These statements correspond with the stated findings. First, in terms of cultural continuity, it is recommended that LBHC continue to reaffirm the cultural and tribal identity of the Crow people. LBHC should also continue to acknowledge the concept of family, community, and tribal ways of life. The college needs to continue building its community image and should also continue building bridges between the students and the world outside of the Crow Reservation.

Secondly, it is recommended that LBHC utilize the information from students' reasons for choosing to attend to continually enhance recruitment and retention efforts. It is important to blend information from student choice to completely understand the demographic profile of the student body. LBHC will do well to sustain its image as a place that welcomes students. The college should challenge its students to meet their own educational goals and expectations. It is recommended that LBHC develop ways to challenge all types of learners. For those students who are attending LBHC for reasons other than obtaining a degree, a support network could be established through accessing technology such as telecommunications and computers. It is reasonable for LBHC to provide services and programs that will assist students in improving their self-image and in helping prepare them for employment.

Thirdly, the recommendation for curricular and programmatic planning is for LBHC to emulate the ideas of excellence and opportunity for its students and members of the community. It is essential to continue building partnerships with other community and tribal programs. It is also recommended that LBHC continue to build articulation agreements with other institutions of higher learning.

In the fourth area, the primary recommendation for LBHC students is to communicate their issues. The perpetuation of the Crow language and culture must also be promoted by students. Therefore, students should strive to keep the oral tradition alive through the educational process at LBHC. The college should perceive its students as leaders of the future.

The final set of recommendations support LBHC in its delivery of a quality educational experience to its students. The college must continue dismantling the Indian student deficit model and build the self-actualization model. In addition, the college should consider the student perspective which can serve to amplify what is being perceived from their individual and collective point of view. LBHC needs to continue to listen to its students, to encourage involvement of its students, and to foster the growth of a place which imbues opportunity.

Summary

Little Big Horn College has been realizing new solutions and innovations to meeting the needs of its students while retaining tribal tradition. LBHC offers the potential for its students to become empowered as confidence is promoted in their students' ability to succeed academically and to enact social change. Additionally, the community has recognized that the college is a powerful intermediary between the Crow way of life (e.g., traditions, culture, language) and the modern world. The Crow culture is well intact, for now, and LBHC is playing a vital role in perpetuating and promoting it. Because of institutions like LBHC, the future holds a vision of hope for Indian people.

The value and relationship of students to the college mission must not be taken for granted. Any assessment of the college mission would not be complete unless it considers the voice of the student. The history, growth, and development of LBHC has contributed to a better understanding of the function, status, and image of other tribal colleges in Montana and perhaps the nation.

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Finding a Route into Higher Education for Local Working Class Adults

7

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Abstract. The accessibility to adults of six Scottish HEIs and the structural and ethical factors which operate to exclude or include them are examined.How higher education might create a true access culture is assessed through a case study of one institutional response to participation barriers for working class community activists.

Introduction

The reasons for certain groups' non-participation in education have been explored in some depth, and are generally explained in terms of 'barriers' to participation (Cross, 1986). These include institutional barriers, which arise from the negative cultural and structural characteristics of educational providers, as well as situational and dispositional barriers, which arise from conflict between potential learners and the educational and social systems with which they are interacting (McGivney, 1990). Such barriers prompted Halsey (1991) to argue that the outcome of expansion in higher education is the absolute but not relative gain of disadvantaged groups in relation to advantaged groups, because ascriptive forces continue to determine patterns of participation.

The suggestion has come from a number of quarters (Kasworm, 1993; Metcalfe, 1993; Peinovich, 1996) that institutions can do much to combat this continuing inequality through explicit access policy frameworks. One study (Smith et al, 1993), however, found that there was great disparity between institutions for which the cause of access was a central tenet in strategic planning; institutions where access was seen as a 'bolt-on' extra; and institutions where the culture of access was altogether absent from mission and planning statements. It appears that unless key individuals in academic departments who act as gate-keepers are committed to the justice of wider access, then institutions will be under little pressure to redress the other, more instrumental forces which work to preserve the status quo.

Research Design

In order to examine the culture and policy of differing higher education institutions, semi-structured interviews were held with key staff from the six higher education institutions in one Scottish city. A maximum of six individuals in each institution were interviewed about their views of access procedures in their institution; the ways in which on-going and exit support services operated; and their personal views of adult students. Respondents were drawn from four categories: senior policy makers with an institutional responsibility for access (a Vice-Principal or Dean of Studies); staff from student support services; individuals with an overview of access procedures (such as registrars or deans of faculty); and admissions tutors or heads of departments with both relatively high and low numbers of adult students. The data gathered enabled the assessment of how far these differing perspectives contributed to a culture that prioritised or marginalised access for adult students.

The research into a special project (LAST), based in one of these institutions, involved both documentary analysis and interviews. Documentation on the planning of the project and recruitment and selection procedures was gathered and analysed and supplemented with informal interviews with community education workers, the project planning team, LAST staff, Trust members, and applicants. Participants were interviewed four times: at the start of their course, after three months, after 18 months and again after 24 months. Participants were asked about what had led them onto the course and the factors which helped to sustain their participation. The interviews were transcribed and analysed and this information was used to identify common themes, which included motivation; academic and financial support; school experience; learning experiences which had resulted in change; and attitudes to higher education.

Providers' Views

During the course of the research into the culture and policy of the different HEIs it was found that, although all respondents believed that widening access to adults was desirable in terms of principle and equity, a number of factors militated against it. Each of the respondents identified structural and ethical pressures which served to check their inclusion. These factors also operated at a functional rather than theoretical level where, for example, an admissions tutor might welcome an increased number of adults with non-standard entry qualifications in their department for reasons of social justice, yet feel unable to increase an allocation for such students because numbers are capped centrally. There appear to be three levels of challenge, national, institutional, departmental, and individual, to a more inclusive culture in higher education that operate as institutional barriers - both structural and cultural - for adult returners.

At the national level, although most respondents were ethically committed to the principle of widened access, they felt there were a variety of central, structural barriers militating against it. Chief among these were financial and political pressures from outwith their institutions such as the need to meet target student numbers. A few respondents, however, believed the moral imperative to widen access was such that institutions needed to work actively to challenge these external barriers. Thus, the very function of higher education was considered and questioned by respondents who felt that institutional or individual will could be stifled from the outside. For example, adults were increasingly taking on financial debt to fund their courses, which threatened participation at all stages. Respondents argued that with the best will in the world, there was little they could do to help support adult undergraduates in such a political climate.

At the institutional level, in many institutions and departments, support for widening access was seen to be diminishing in real terms with many departments, viewing widened access as a reactive, rather than proactive, process. Most admissions tutors spoke of selecting students from a large pool of applicants. Where courses were popular, applicants were chosen on the strength of their [generally traditional] qualifications and likeliness of success on course. There seemed little need in such circumstances to take what were perceived as the 'risks' of non-traditional candidates or seek to increase the number of applicants.Whatever the reasons for the constituency of applicants, it is clear that departments followed the path of least resistance in choosing students. Only in departments with already high numbers of adult students were systems in place for assessing applicants in terms of the value added by the institution. Finally, at the individual level, institutions' access culture could be tempered by personal belief that only young school leavers were the appropriate constituency of the University as the following quote, from a Registrar, illustrates: 'There are some people who feel that to exercise any form of positive discrimination that would deprive a very talented 17-year-old of an opportunity to matriculate is criminal'.

If key individuals in academic departments who act as gate-keepers are not committed to the justice of wider access, then institutions will be under little pressure to redress the other, more instrumental forces which work to preserve the status quo. Indeed, adult students themselves stress the importance of sympathetic individuals for course success: as will be seen in the following account of the LAST project, a collective response can do much to overcome institutional barriers to participation.

The LAST Project

This project is designed to enable previously excluded people from the working class, disabled, and minority ethnic communities to overcome the barriers that prevent their participation in higher education. All the eighteen participants in the programme are working class, three are disabled, three are black and none have the standard entry qualifications for the degree in Community Education that they are taking. The project 'seeks to achieve equality of outcomes for people whose circumstances, geographic, physical or cultural, would not permit them to consider becoming professionally qualified' (LAST, 1994: 2). It aims to enable these groups to enter the community education profession whilst working in their own communities and studying part-time. Apart from the barriers that HEIs themselves present to access, non-traditional participants experience situational and dispositional barriers that prevent them from seeing higher education as a possibility for them. In this section of the paper I will discuss how this project has attempted to overcome some of these barriers.

Overcoming Institutional Barriers

The institution has become accessible to this group in a variety of ways: through the culture of the department and the attitudes of the lecturing staff; the subject matter of the course; the admissions arrangements; the assessment methods used; and the availability of resources. These are each discussed more fully, below. Becher (1989: 20) has suggested that academic cultures are related to the nature of knowledge; that 'the attitudes, activities and cognitive styles of groups of academics are bound up with the characteristics and structures of knowledge domains with which groups are professionally concerned'. Staff on this course had close links with the economically disadvantaged communities from which the students came. In addition, the course had a strong subject focus on issues of inequality in society that made staff particularly aware of the barriers to participation from excluded groups.

The admissions arrangements encouraged applications from community activists in two main ways. Firstly, community work staff generated 'demand' from local activists through early guidance about the value of their informal experience and provided community-based opportunities for them to develop study skills. Secondly, only those whose personal circumstances and lack of educational qualifications would not enable them to gain entry to the degree in the normal way were able to apply for a place through this project. Thus the normal entry requirements were reversed, making possession of the standard entry qualifications a disadvantage.

A further factor was that the methods of assessment, usually a combination of written assignments and oral, group presentations, with no exams, were particularly appropriate for this group. Indeed for any failure in connection with a particular assignment, there were a further two opportunities to overtake the failure with detailed feedback and advice from the staff members concerned. This form and level of support was on top of the role of the two LAST tutors in providing responsive and extensive personal support. More broadly, the privileging of experience from practice, the general approach that being working-class was a positive asset, and the ethos of the course with a particular emphasis on learning from experience, were all factors that contributed to a culture that valued the participation of this group in the course.

The high level of resources available for the project in terms of academic and financial support has been of considerable value. This includes extra tutorial support through the two LAST tutors and finance for travel, books, dependents' care and disability support costs. Each student has extensive individual tutorial support with a student/tutor ratio of 9:1; there are six lap-top computers available which students can take home as well as computers in the institution; and there is a fund for travel and dependency-care costs. The two LAST tutors have mediated not just between the course and the students but also between them and the whole institution. Examples of this mediation include the prioritising of the issue of access to the institution for disabled people and the successful negotiation of longer submission times for the students' assignments.

Overcoming Situational and Dispositional Barriers

One of the barriers to individuals participating in higher education identified in the literature is negative school experience (McGivney, 1990). Whilst all of the participants were negative about their own school experiences, they were able to give positive examples of learning which had taken place at a later point in their lives. These experiences were often associated with their involvement in community action: 'What I've learnt since school has been through being involved in campaigns . The important thing I learned was that you do not have to put up with things because if what you want is right then you can change things. That's something they never teach you at school'.'

Because this informal learning provided the entry requirements for the course it means that early negative experiences of school and an understanding that higher education is for 'folk who aren't like us', can be overtaken by removing some of the attitudinal barriers to participation and by being part of a cohesive group. By privileging experience of community activism over academic qualifications at entry the students were helped to value their own strengths. The interviews also highlighted the importance of sympathetic, supportive and approachable tutors, good relationships and patterns of communication between this cohort and fellow students and the suitability of course content. The students provided informal support to each other both through study groupings in their own geographical area and through the tutorial groups. One student suggested that 'being part of the group [is] an inspiration in itself, either socialising or supporting each other with assignments'. Personal factors such as levels of motivation, support from family and friends, and the quality and availability of study facilities and guidance were identified as important. Another student said, 'I think you have to know your limitations and ask for help when you need it and have that recognised'.

Thus, by adopting a strategic, pro-active approach towards breaking down the barriers facing working class adult returners, one department in one institution has been able to create a true access culture.

Conclusion

It appears that where strong personal aspirations are allied to a well-focused project rooted in the community and set within a relatively well-resourced and culturally compatible higher education course environment, the negative channelling experienced by so many working class people can be successfully challenged and overcome. The way this has been achieved in the LAST programme is summarised below.

Institutional barriers: admissions procedures favour young, traditionally qualified candidates; inflexible course arrangements disadvantage adults with varying domestic responsibilities; student loans and other central sources of finance discriminate against older learners; individual members of staff may have little sympathy towards the particular needs of adult students; assessment procedures favour students who have experienced previous academic success; HEIs' ethos tends to reflect social inequalities.

LAST response: pro-active recruitment procedures encourage applications from members of traditionally under-represented groups in higher educaation; the programme includes part-time provision which is not tied to conventional term times; students are able to combine their studies with part-time work in their communities; finance is made available through the Urban Aid Programme for travel, dependents' care, and disability support; course policy and content heightens staff awareness of the needs of excluded groups; emphasis is placed on individual tuition and guidance; assessment procedures are group-based and flexible; the 'community' of students provides support and reinforces the positive aspects of a diverse student body.

Dispositional barriers: adults with negative school experiences are less likely to return to higher education; continuing education - particularly higher education - is undervalued in many communities, where the culturally-derived attitude that 'education is for other people' can prevail (see McGivney, 1990).

LAST response: students are encouraged to identify past, positive learning experiences of all kinds; these experiences are all valued explicitly by course tutors; the privileging of experience over qualifications enables students to recognize their own strengths; contextualizing the course in participants' communities reduces the 'otherness' of higher education.

Thus, the idea that becoming a professional and gaining a degree is an opportunity open to all - even 'folk like me' - can gain ground not by emulating the well trodden, individualistic middle class passage to higher education, but through a collective process. HEIs following this path will not have reflected and reproduced the inequalities in society, but 'prioritised provision for those whose earlier educational disadvantage would give them a first claim on a genuine lifelong learning system'.(Woodrow, 1996: 57).

Challenging the idea that education is for other people requires not only a change in attitudes by participants but also requires institutions to change their approaches. Only if there is a clear commitment to previously excluded groups will the way be paved to a truly accessible higher education for all adults.

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Examining the Dynamic Relationships among Three Facets of Knowledge: A Holistic View

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Abstract. This paper proposes a holistic theory of knowledge and learning. The theory posits that knowledge is consisted of three indivisible facets: explicit, implicit, and emancipatory, and that it is more important to examine the dynamic relationships among the three facets in order to better understand different learning modes.

Three major approaches to the nature of knowledge have dominated adult education literature. Following Habermas (1971, 1984), adult education researchers have critiqued the empirical-analytic tradition of the field. It is argued that the knowledge produced from such tradition has served the interests of professionalization and control, and that these interests are not emancipatory (Wilson, 1993; Thompson & Schield, 1996). From the perspective of critical theory, it is important to examine the power relationship in which the knowledge is produced and whose interest is served. On the other hand, interpretive scholars believe that knowledge is subjective and is constructed from one's experience within the frame of prior interpretation. The three major approaches to knowledge (i.e., empirical-analytic, interpretive, and critical) have typified efforts to define the concept of knowledge from different perspectives. These perspectives have been shaped by the examination of a limited consideration of the nature of knowledge. This paper proposes a holistic theory of knowledge and learning. The theory posits that knowledge is consisted of three indivisible facets: explicit, implicit, and emancipatory, and that it is more important to examine the dynamic relationships among the three facets in order to better understand different learning modes.

Three Facets of Knowledge

Knowledge is human beings' understanding about the realities through mental correspondence, personal experience and emotional affection with outside objects and situations. This definition of knowledge has the following implications. First, knowledge exists in a state of understanding within human beings. Second, knowledge is learned and cumulated from personal and social life. Third, there are at least three channels that link individual inner state to outside realities. Consequently, knowledge has three distinct but interrelated facets: explicit, implicit, and emancipatory knowledge. A holistic theory of knowledge should include three basic facets of knowledge: explicit, implicit, and emancipatory. Th explicit facet consists of the cognitive component of knowledge that represents one's understandings about the realities. Explicit knowledge is codified knowledge because it is transmittable in formal, systematic language. It includes technical knowledge as it reflects one's intentional and conscious effort to understand realities. The implicit or tacit facet is the behavioral component of knowledge that denotes the learning that is not openly expressed or stated. Implicit knowledge is personal, context-specified, and therefore hard to formalize and communicate. Implicit knowledge usually comes from and exits in one's behavior, action, and accumulated experiences. However, experience itself can not automatically become knowledge. Only the learning and familiarity evolved from experience that have been confirmed to be true can be viewed as knowledge. Research has suggested that the unconscious thoughts and actions can be developed, received, stored, and recovered without the involvement of conscious awareness (Taylor, 1997). The emancipatory facet is the affect component of knowledge and is reflected in affective reactions to outside world. Emancipatory knowledge is value-laden. It is indicated by feelings and emotions people have in relation to the objects and situations. Emancipatory knowledge defines one's view about what the world should be, and it produces one's efforts to seek freedom from natural and social restraints. Table 1 compares three facets of knowledge and their related characteristics.

Table 1. Comparison of Knowledge Facets

	Explicit	**Implicit**	**Emancipatory**
Nature	Knowledge of rationality (mind)	Knowledge of experience (body)	Knowledge of meaning (heart)
Function	Sequential knowledge (there and then)	Simultaneous knowledge (here and now)	Essential knowledge (where and why)
Domain	Digital knowledge (theory)	Analog knowledge (practice)	Vital knowledge (spirit)
Foundation	Separation of object and subject (objective)	Interrelated object and subject (subjective)	Object within subject (affective)
Carrier	Formal, abstract symbols & languages	Informal, concrete, and vivid experiences	Values, conscience, dignity, & ethics
Source	Logic, reasoning	Practice, experience	Freedom, justice
Criteria	Empirically sound, clear, and consistency	Workable, practical, communicative	Enlightening, ethical, responsible
Ability to Learn	Analytical Intelligence	Practical Intelligence	Emotional Intelligence
Goal	Truth Efficiency Maximize	Reality Effectiveness Artistic	Liberty Significance Empowering
Problem Nature	Structured	Less-Structured	Nonstructured
Related Theory	Prescriptive	Heuristic	Descriptive
Research Tool	Empirical-analytic	Experiential-interpretive	Critical-reflective
Research Domain	Cognition (thinking)	Behavior (action)	Affect (emotion)

The differences among these three facets of knowledge have both theoretical and practical importance. The explicit knowledge is based on the separation of object and subject and it serves for the interest of rationality. The implicit knowledge is established on the interrelation between object and subject and thus is simultaneous and analog knowledge. The emancipatory facet is essential and vital knowledge that defines the meaning of an object within subject. These three facets are different not only in nature, function, and foundation, but also in direct sources, evaluation criteria, and ultimate goals. The direct source for the explicit knowledge is logic and reasoning and it is judged by the criteria of empirical soundness, clarity, and consistency. The explicit knowledge seeks for truth and efficiency, and it tends to search for a single solution for an action that maximizes its satisfaction or utility. This facet of knowledge is facilitated by analytical intelligence and measured by conventional IQ tests. The implicit or tacit knowledge derives from practice, experience, and recognition. It needs to be practical and communicative across situations. This facet of knowledge aims for reality, and it focuses on the effectiveness that normally requires artistic instead of scientific solutions. The ability to acquire the implicit knowledge can be viewed as practical intelligence (Sternberg, 1985, 1997). People do not just know through thinking or doing, they also acquire knowledge with their emotions and feelings. The emancipatory knowledge includes human beings' pursuit of freedom and justice, which is advanced by values, assumptions and ethics. In quest of liberty and empowerment, the emancipatory knowledge has been evaluated by intellectual illumination and ethical responsibility. This facet of knowledge can be also facilitated and indicated by emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995, 1996). Goleman has noted that people with higher emotional intelligence tend to "have a notable capacity for commitment to people or causes, for taking responsibility, and for having an ethical outlook; they are sympathetic and caring in their relationships" (1995, p. 45).

Because these three facets of knowledge appear to be different in many aspects, researchers and theorists tend to view the concept of knowledge from one perspective or another. Moreover, the academic field and related literature have been divided into camps of so called paradigms. Scholars tend to conduct their discourses within in one camp or take one only perspective for the sake of consistency. For example, program planning theories in the literature appear to emphasize only one approach rather than a holistic view (Cervero & Wilson, 1994). Those who place their emphasis on explicit knowledge tend to examine relatively structured problems, use empirical-analytic tool of research, and build prescriptive theories and models. Those scholars who accept the implicit nature of knowledge look less-structured problems with experiential-interpretive tools and their research outputs appear as heuristic theories and interpretations. Those who contends that emancipatory knowledge is vital for any sort of learning use such research tools of critically reflection or participatory study to probe nonstructured problems, and their outcomes are normally descriptive. From a research perspective, the three facets of knowledge represent three domains of study: cognition, behavior, and affect. Each of the three domains reflects a long interest of investigation along the lines of thinking, action, and emotion respectively.

Dynamic Relationships among Knowledge Facets

Although the differences among three facets of knowledge have been long recognized, few have examined their unitary nature. While knowledge facets may come from different sources and develop toward diverse directions, as discussed above, none can be simply dismissed. A holistic theory of knowledge and learning must acknowledge all facets of knowledge. In fact, each of the three facets of knowledge provides a support needed for the other facets to exist. Explicit knowledge will exist only as meaningless facts, figures or bytes of information without the support of other facets. Implicit knowledge will appear as random, idiosyncratic, and isolated events or situations without the connections with two other facets. Emancipatory knowledge will be simply emotion or affection when the explicit and implicit facets are removed. The above different terms and characteristics are divided and examined just for the discourse purpose and themselves are explicit writings with rational interest. In reality, a robust piece of knowledge consists of three interrelated facets. A holistic view of knowledge should be a dynamic dialectic among all facets.

Consideration of these facets of knowledge can be facilitated by thinking of them as angles of an equilateral triangle with the angle of the triangle being the different facets of knowledge. The inside of the triangle can be regarded as the arena of knowledge and the sides of the triangle represent interaction among the facets. While educators and researchers can view the concept of knowledge from one of the angles and work on a particular side, there is always the influence of the other two angles in the arena. Each of the angles is bounded by two angles and shaped by the inputs and influences from other facets of knowledge. Learning can start in one of the facets and educators and learners can, consciously or unconsciously, move toward one of the directions characterized by the knowledge facets. However, any change of one facet always affects one or both of the other facets.

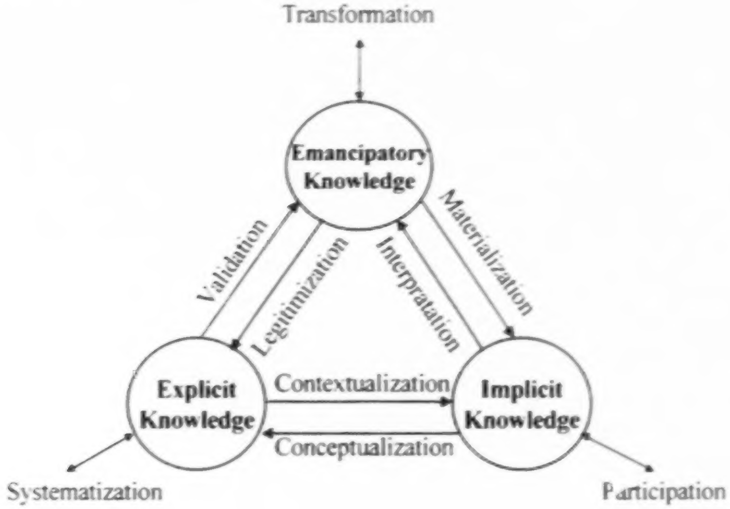

Figure 1. Three Facets of Knowledge and Implied Modes of Learning

The dynamic relationships among the knowledge facets and related learning modes are presented in Figure 1. Three circles in the figure represent the knowledge facets and the lines with arrow refer to the interaction between the facets. It is assumed that knowledge is created through the interactions among explicit, implicit, and emancipatory knowledge. These relations allow us to draw at least nine modes of learning (i.e., knowledge conversion): participation, conceptualization, contextualization, systematization, validation, legitimization, transformation, interpretation, and materialization. Participation is a process of learning from practice and thereby creating implicit knowledge from experiences. The direct outcomes of the participation are unconscious mental models and technical skills such as know-how. Many learning forms such as apprenticeship, interns and on-job-training fall into this mode of learning. Personal participation in individual and social activities will always result in implicit learning, which, in turn, develops intuitive (tacit) knowledge. Psychological studies have shown that such knowledge is optimally acquired independently of conscious efforts to learn and it can be effectively used to solve problems and make decisions (Gerholm, 1990; Reber, 1989). Conceptualization is a process of articulating implicit knowledge into explicit concepts. It converts familiarities into tangible explanations. It is a quintessential knowledge-creation process in that implicit knowledge becomes explicit, taking forms of metaphors, analogies, concepts, hypotheses, or models (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). For example, a professional may summarize what have learned from practice, reflect upon the literature in the field and write up a scholarly article for publication. Other professionals in the field then can learn from such explicit knowledge. Contextualization is a process of embodying explicit knowledge into implicit knowledge. It is the process of utilizing concepts, models, propositions in a specific context. A teacher is in this learning mode when he/she examines the appropriateness of newly developed teaching method in his/her classroom. Because there may be countless factors that affect his/her decision of adoption and the person who developed the method cannot anticipate all possible applicable situations, the teacher may not be able to clearly state the rationale and the process of such decision. Therefore, such learning process that involves action or behavior will always bring about a change of implicit knowledge. Systematization is a process of systematizing concepts into a knowledge system with logic and reasoning. This learning mode generally involves combining different bodies of explicit knowledge in a consistent format. People exchange and combine knowledge through such forms as seminars, literature critique, or conferences. Validation is a process of examining underlying values, beliefs and other kinds of fundamental learning based on explicit knowledge (which is believed to be true under rational perspective). Mezirow (1996) suggests that we establish the validity either by empirically testing to determine the truth or by appealing to tradition, authority or rational discourse. "Discourse allows us to test the validity of our beliefs and interpretations" (p. 165). Legitimization is a process of justifying explicit knowledge based upon emancipatory knowledge. For instance, many higher education institutes changed admission regulations after civil right movement. Transformation is a process of converting an old meaning scheme (i.e., values, feelings, ethics, etc.) into another one. It should be noted that not all transformative learning occur in a positive direction. One longitudinal study shows that adult life experiences can result in diverse development outcomes (Merriam & Yang, 1996). For example, those who experienced a period of unemployment have expressed more sensitivity to social and economic inequality, but they felt to be marginalized, vulnerable, and controlled by external forces. Some life experiences may bring about learning with negative interpretation (Merriam, Mott, & Lee, 1996). The key to understand such complicated learning process lies the interactions among three knowledge facets. Interpretation is process of making meaning scheme from tacit learning and direct experiences. People feel to be empowered and have a new look about the life through a participatory action research have been involved the learning process of interpretation. Materialization is a process of transferring emancipatory knowledge into tacit knowledge. Those who utilize what have been learned from the participatory action research to improve the quality of their daily life are in the process of materialization.

Knowledge Facets and Paradigms of Learning and Research

There has been a lot of discussion on the paradigms of learning and research (Merriam, 1991; Mezirow, 1996). From the perspective of the proposed theory of knowledge and learning, contemporary paradigms have been evolved with emphasis on one facet of knowledge or another. The positivist or objectivist paradigm posits that only explicit facet is valid knowledge (Searle, 1993). Learning occurs as learners relate concepts descriptive of the new knowledge to previous knowledge within their cognitive structure. The integration of new and previous knowledge occurs through changes in the learners' conceptual structure. Concepts are thought to be developed and stored in a hierarchical structure. The positivist paradigm assumes that human beings are rational and take actions based on explicit knowledge. The essential element of the rationality is a conscious goal and the best action selected from all relevant alternatives that maximize the promise of reaching that goal. Unfortunately, such perspective ignores or pays less attention to the roles of unconscious learning and learning in the affect domain.

The interpretive paradigm emphasizes the implicit nature of knowledge and the changing influences of reality. Knowledge is acquired only through experiences and direct engagement in practice (i.e., participation) (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Mezirow (1990) contends that learning process involves looking at past experiences, new experiences and reflecting on these for the purpose of making meaning. "Learning may be defined as the process of making a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of an experience, which guides subsequent understanding, appreciation, and action" (p. 1). Observing the dynamic world and the complexity of human communication, the interpretive paradigm asserts that realities are multiple and subjective and that truth is relative. Consequently, such assertion poses a dilemma. Do we want the communication of our interpretations to be as clear as if there is a single reality or, with multiple realities, a confusion lead to no action?

The critical paradigm involves a commitment to deliberate action for justice in society where the existing social structure is seen as coercive and oppressive. It argues any adequate approach to educational theory must provide ways of distinguish ideologically distorted interpretations from those that are not (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p. 129). Although this paradigm strongly advocates the rejection of positivist notions of rationality, objectivity and truth because of its danger to move toward hegemony, explicit learning (with a tendency of instrumental rationality) remains the major source of validation and justification (Mezirow, 1996). In fact, many communist movements which originated from the critical thinking are very hegemonistic.

Conclusion

The paper presents a holistic theory of knowledge and learning. By examining the major characteristics of three knowledge facets, it is argued that learning can be understood within the interactions among the three facets of knowledge. The conventional paradigms assume that they are divisive and thus have failed to integrate the dynamic relationships among knowledge facets. Therefore, research and theory building need to consider the nature of knowledge facets. Theories must meet the requirements of empirically sound, communicative clarity, and critically analysis (Brookfield, 1992; Cervero & Wilson, 1994). The proposed theory also provides a useful framework to reexamine conventional adult education concepts, namely andragogy, adult development, experiential learning, feminist pedagogy, self-directed learning, and transformation theory. For instance, andragogy recognizes adult learners' experiences that can be a valid source of learning and their self-concept of responsibility. However, the dynamic relations between this learning source and other sources have not been clearly outlined.

Transforming Intercultural Perspectives: Reflecting On-line

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Abstract: The purpose of this exploratory study was to understand how students in an online course showed evidence of reflection and transformative thinking around issues of social justice and intercultural communication. Email transcripts from six students were analyzed for evidence of reflection on underlying assumptions regarding course content. Results suggest that the range of kinds of reflection on premise described by Mezirow (1991) are all present, that each student has a "refective style", and that transformation around issues of race was compromised by frustration with the concept of white identity.

Introduction

Adult learners generally come to graduate school to find the words and the theories to help them better understand their practice and, potentially, to transform the way they think about themselves, their work, and their interactions. In the case of students active in the community, the experiences brought from practice may be grounded in such events as public struggles for environmental and economic justice, in experience as disenfranchised members of American society, or in reflections on their personal "theories-in-use" (Schon, 1988). Online computer courses offer adult learners the time to reflect on these experiences, academic readings, and group discussion in a way that differs from the "real time" of face-to-face classes.

In this exploratory study, the "perspective transformation" of which Jack Mezirow (1991, 1995) and others speak revolves around the impasses posed by cultural misunderstanding and by the inequities reflected by race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation in American society. Universities are among the places where we can foster the transformation of perspectives. This study examines the following questions: 1) What evidence is there that meaning schemes and perspectives are transformed in a course that deals with community building and social justice issues? 2) What factors influence how individual students frame their reflection on issues? 3) What are the specific issues that challenge students to examine premises and assumptions? 4) How does the online nature of the course shape discussion around meaning-making?

Background

Six graduate students studying intercultural relations, conflict resolution, environmentalism, and community development in an online course participated in this study. The course was directed at students who were active in the course theme of "building inclusive communities", and were seeking a theoretical base in intercultural communications and community development to help guide their practice. Topics discussed over the course of ten weeks included the dynamics of face-to-face communication across cultures, stereotypes, interethnic and intergroup conflict, prejudice reduction, individualist and collectivist cultures, and community visioning and change strategies. Students took turns in leading online discussions related to weekly readings, and participated in assignments that asked them to reflect upon the connection between the readings and their personal experience, including experience with community groups. The group of six included five women and one man; five white North Americans and one African American, all of whom I had personally met during their periodic on-campus seminars (unrelated to the course).

Literature

Mezirow's work in the field of perspective transformation (1991, 1995) is widely know in the field of adult education. The goal of transformative learning is to foster dialogue in a critically self-reflective manner that leads to more sensitive, non-dominant, non-distorting communication. The specific task of adult education and of social movements is to help learners resist the hegemony of the system when communication is distorted by unequal power and influence. Transformative learning is a critical precursor to changing worldviews around social inequities (Mezirow, 1991, 1995; Dirkx, 1994).

Of particular relevance to this study was Mezirow's focus on communicative learning. Clearly an online course that grapples with topics such as cultural identification and community building is fertile ground for discussion and collaborative learning. In discussing the process of reflective action, Mezirow places particular emphasis on premise reflection, in which learners reflect on the validity of the norms, paradigms, philosophies, and theories often taken for granted. Learning becomes transformative when these assumptions are found to be distorting, inauthentic, or otherwise unjustified, and when reflection on premises results in new or transformed meaning perspectives. Mezirow begins his phases of transformative learning with a disorienting dilemma. However, Clark (1993) found that rather than going through this initial disorientation, learners experienced "integrative circumstances" which provided them with the missing piece, occurring after an earlier stage of exploration and preparing them for learning to follow. Brookfield (1995) stresses the parallel role of critical reflection in helping learners to understand how power undergirds and distorts educational processes and interactions.

Method

Students' participation in the online course yielded transcripts of email correspondence, which formed the basis for class discussion. Transcripts for each student were analyzed for themes related to the research questions around students' experiences with meaning schemes and perspectives around issues of culture and social justice. Transcripts of each student's participation, including questions to the class and responses to questions posed throughout the term by either myself as instructor or other students, ranged in length between 20 and 60 pages. Data were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Findings

Initial themes were analyzed for evidence of the disorienting dilemmas and premise reflection stressed in the perspective transformation literature as being precursers to social change. Findings fell into three major categories: different modes of reflection on the premises of meaning perspectives, individual styles of reflection, and talk about race, one of the most frequently occuring issues arising in discussions.

Shades of reflection on premise. Students' comments exhibited varying degrees of reflectivity. Five of the six students made at least one statement each which exemplified the concept of perspective transformation in the way Mezirow described it, starting with a disorienting dilemma, moving through stages of self-examination, critical assessment of assumptions, exploration of options and planning for a new course of action, and ultimately, reintegrating the new perspective into one's life. For example, Jason reflected over several class sessions on how he learned to change his patterns of communication with women:

> I've had a tendency to assume that the way the women I know best (my wife, daughter, mother, sister) think is roughly the way other women perceive and react. NO WAY. Part of this is about power, gender, and familiarity. I only know this personally because two women in the last year have taken me aside, and laid it out for me. . . (Responding to a classmate who suggested that "before we can change behavior we must change our thoughts":) I'm not sure I agree with you . . . I personally began using more gender inclusive language before I began to actually think in more inclusive terms. What happened was that when I changed my language, I received specific responses from women, acknowledging and appreciating the way I spoke. This new response, as a consequence of my modified language, woke me up to the importance of the way I formerly spoke, and its negative effect on women. So last to change was my thinking.

Jason's reflectivity led to action, as he learned to integrate what first seemed like artifical patterns of behavior into beliefs. In a somewhat different example of premise reflection, Renee, a community activist who had successfully helped her town turn away plans for a toxic waste dump, was invited to speak with a group of African Americans in a large urban center who were fighting similar pollution issues:

> Initially I thought they were terribly apathetic . . .But after listening (really, really listening) I realized that day to day survival was most important. After hearing their stories, there was no way I was going to shame them into becoming environmentalists.

In reflecting upon the unsettling event of dealing with familiar environmental issues, but with a culture she'd not worked with before, Renee transformed her ideas about who deserved respect in the environmental movement. Similarly, Paige talked about why she chose a less-qualified, mildly disabled white man who was a local resident for a housing management position over a more qualified African American woman who did not live in the project:

> In the end I decided that building local capacity and giving someone the chance to realize potential is the most valuable outcome of a (housing development) program like this . . . Prior to making my decision to hire Fred, I was caught up short listening to myself tell a housing developer that "if we contracted with him for our affordable housing project, we would expect him to hire Housing Authority residents for management and maintenance positions". I decided there was no use talking a big story, but getting no real meaning from it.

Paige's decision to hire a less qualified, but local and enthusiastic member of the dominant culture was disputed by some of her classmates who laid out other grounds for hiring a housing manager. Yet her position was respected, and it was clear that in this case there was more than one plausible strategy for the goal of increasing equity in community hiring.

A common variation of perspective transformation found in this study reflected Clark's (1993) concept of the integrative circumstance. A class participant named Ellen who struggled to live out her values of environmental activism and confronting bigotry talked about attending a workshop on cross-cultural facilitation. The ideas she encountered "really stuck with her", especially the statement made that "we are either perpetuating differences or working to heal them". After reflecting on this statement, Ellen concluded that the present and future are opportunities for healing the wounds of history, and that she should guide her career accordingly.

An African American woman named Hazel described the integrative role of one of the articles assigned for the course:

> Considering, as suggested by Ting-Toomey, that conflict issues for individualists arise through a violation of personal space, privacy, individual power, etc., I can now begin to understand why many white males seem to be, in my view, unreasonably threatened by their perception of affirmative action. Their personal individualistic power is being collectively threatened. While I am sure I will be no less passionate about "ism" issues, this course and particularly Ting-Toomey is helping me to become more mindful of my approach.

While Hazel described no initial disorienting experience, she had clearly been thinking about why affirmative action posed such a threat to white males, and her academic reading gave her a way in which to understand their position, although she didn't necessarily agree with it.

Many students were in the process of reflecting on their assumptions, but stopped short of the imaginative insights, transformed meaning perspectives and subsequent action that Mezirow outlines. It was common for some students to transform their self-reflections into questions for their classmates. Paige continues in her discussion about counseling low-income people on paths to economic and personal independence:

> I find an overwhelming majority of them to be void of conscious passions. During the initial needs assessment, I ask about their interests; they falter with embarrassed confusion. . . what am I asking of them? Isn't it enough to expect them to keep their children fed, clothed, and sheltered? It then becomes my mission to encourage dreaming, scheming, allowing.

In this example, Paige did not change her initial perspective on the importance of "conscious passions" in the lives of poor people. While she questioned her viewpoint on how much could be expected of people struggling to survive, she did not conclude, like Renee, that she needed to change her expectations of those on low incomes, while maintaining respect for their decisions. Rather, she stuck to her "mission" of getting them to dream of improvement.

Jane frequently broached her reflections to the class in the form of questions. She wondered whether it might be possible to leave those "lesbian separatists, African American separatists, etc. who wish to be left alone, alone";

> But, then, what about white, middle class suburbanites who prefer to be with people who are culturally like themselves. Should this desire also be respected? This leads directly to an idea of 'separate but equal'. Another avenue, to me a more promising one: how about redefining and recreating American culture as something which is not white-centered?

Jane was not alone in her interest in and ability to "voice" her thoughtfulness through email in such a way that her classmates benefitted from her reflection on cultural diversity; indeed, her reflection echoed the questioning of society at large.

Individual styles of reflection. In examining the transcripts from the six class participants, I found that there were several key modes of talking about their reflections. What I'm tentatively terming "styles of reflection" encompasses the depth of reasoning students used in analyzing their reflections, the degree of detail they provided on their reflections, and the related issues and emotional tone that accompanied their descriptions. Jason, like Jane, was able to keep digging under layers of assumptions, challenging himself and his classmates to question what they believed. He describes attending a conference with many African Americans and black Carribeans:

> Their experiences surprised me (what? is this still happening in 1997?), as did the depth of their anger and frustration (whoa, take it easy!). Judging by my immediate reaction, and how glad I am that I kept my mouth shut, I would say that I was being mindful and came away with some good learning. Funny, even though they were talking about experiences with people in another country, I felt that I owned some of the responsibility and began to feel defensive.

Paige consistently conveyed her joy at being able to play around with the new ideas she encountered as a graduate student:

> Forgive me for not paying greater homage (to the material) by relating its premises to personal experience...the information was so fascinating that I had trouble not dwelling for too long on each example and concept...my mind felt that it had definitely entered into the rarefied realm of artistic, scientific, and philosophic geniuses. . . I'm going to be contemplating 'implied logic' for some time!

Paige was not as analytical as some of the other participants. She also was more likely to skip over complex ideas to return to the comfort of her own predisposition and experience:

> I think there is always a way to make meaningful communication--smoke signals, sign language, drumming. . .my point is that high or low (context), linear or spiral, overt or subtle, if the intent is sincere. . .then communication will happen . . . My muse prefers the infinite astounding subtleties and possibilites of communication rather than the technical definitions.

While Paige stopped short of reflecting on some of her convictions, she enjoyed the new language and ideas of academia. In terms of sheer volume written by students during the course of a quarter, there was quite a range. Jason and Jane, the two who were more likely to exhibit a kind of "meta-reflection", in which the personal processes of questioning, reasoning, and soul-searching were transparent and passed on for group reflection, tended to write the most. Edna, somewhat younger and less experienced than the others, wrote less, but her answers were concise, and showed evidence of grappling with difficult issues.

Reflecting on race. Since the context of the course had to do with culture and community building, it is not surprising that race was frequently the topic of discussions. In his comment above, Jason talked about the how his sympathy for the discrimination voiced by blacks was compromised by his feelings of defensiveness. The five white students in the course consistently talked of feeling "shame for my white people", of feeling "unevolved and clunky" as they looked into the cultural mirror. The course was happening during the time that a number of politicians were calling for a national apology to African Americans for slavery. White students reflected ambivalence between the shame, depression, and pain they felt for themselves and their fellow Americans for how they had treated indigenous peoples and African Americans, and the defensiveness they felt when hearing stories of discrimination, as Renee's comment illustrates:

> I think we are SUPPOSED to be forever embarrassed and ashamed of the way our ancestors treated the American Indians, the slaves, the Japanese, etc., etc. It seems SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE to stand and say that 'I am proud to be white'.

Other students framed this in terms of "I wasn't there (during slavery), it wasn't my fault". Renee gave an example of how she was able to break the cycle of not showing love and affection that had blighted her childhood years, and to go on and show people that she loved them. "The same holds true for racism; I feel like I have worked very hard to break the cycle. Using the past as an excuse not to move forward is not acceptable to me." On the other hand, the one African American member of the class would consistently weave into her discussions the importance of history: "We tend to ignore the lessons of our history, the wisdom of our elders. . . . I know that a continuing source of irritation for me has been the seeming refusal of many European Americans to connect current racial climate historically....". Talk about race in the class reflected the strong desire of white students to understand and better communicate with people of color, but learning stopped short of transformation on the issue of how to negotiate white identity.

Discussion

Findings indicate that students made tentative links to transformative learning, whether through experience in the field, knowledge, or predisposition towards thinking reflectively. The fact that at least some true transformative learning took place, following the cycle of disorienting dilemma through transformed meaning perspectives and action, speaks to the utility of Mezirow's concept. Some instances of perspective transformation resulted from the course, but most were past transformations recounted by students to exemplify concepts and theories they encountered in the readings and online discussions. Similarly, students showed evidence of integrating their new knowledge with their years of experience and questions on who had power in communities and why different cultural groups so frequently misunderstood one another. Perhaps the most fertile ground for adult educators came through reflections framed as perplexing questions, as students struggled to make sense of the paradoxes between values and concrete experiences. Adult educators serving as online monitors are in a position to create a climate of critical and respectful questioning, both through moderator questions and through encouraging the questions and reflections of students.

The differences in what I'm calling at this point "reflective style" may ultimately be linked to developmental stages or phases in transformational learning. It seemed significant that Jason and Jane provided multiple examples of transformative learning, and challenged their classmates to "dig deeper" into issues raised. Ellen also gave examples of critical incidents that had changed her perspectives, but in a more abbreviated style. Paige enjoyed being a student and "musing", but was less likely to delve into underlying premises. Renee's descriptions of reflection took a decidedly introspective, psychological bent, and Hazel was ever mindful of the role of the past in shaping worldviews, both positive and negative. It would thus appear that a part of this unwieldy style category is the degree to which students felt comfortable with and had prior experience with thinking in transformative terms.

While students talked of paradoxes around gender issues, communicating with foreigners, and class distinctions, it was clearly the issue of black/white racial communication that pushed the most buttons. It is perhaps obvious that the awkward and anxious discussions of students around race in this online course reflected the anxiety of society at large in even discussing, let alone resolving these issues. Models of social identity, white identity, white racial consciousness, and black identity exist which will be useful in analyzing students' conceptualizations of and emotional responses to race issues in their reflections.

Preliminary findings from this study will be pursued further with the next group of students taking the inclusive communities course. A follow-up study will probe the preliminary findings discussed above to learn more about the kind of online dialogue which helps students to question their past experiences and basic assumptions around issues of social justice and intercultural communication (particularly around issues of race), and the attributes of reflective style.

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Changing Relations: Power, Ethics and Responsibility In Graduate Supervision

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Abstract: This paper continues the dialogue between a feminist graduate student and non-feminist male advisor in an adult education graduate program: they each define the power relations inherent in the relationship, and raise questions about their ethical and moral responsibilities.

About a year ago we began talking about our relationship. Some of the dialogue centred on our feelings of discomfort, annoyance and difference from the other. Other discussions centred on the power relations between us, how gender affected our relationship, what personal, professional and political expectations we had for each other, and what ethical stances we brought to the relationship. We realised just how fundamentally opposed were our epistemological, methodological and ontological views.

We have since discovered that while there is much discussion of these issues from a theoretical perspective there is less empirical data. So while the student-advisor relationship is the heart of the graduate education experience, it is rarely used as a site for the analysis of what Tisdell (1993) has called interlocking systems of power, privilege and oppression in adult higher education. In this paper we continue our dialogue, talking about one of the practices that can either reproduce or challenge the structured power relations of higher education—the scholarship game.

Operating from different ethical perspectives of care, of justice and of duty, and how they frame our purposes and our roles and responsibilities to each other and to the institution, we have come to see how differently we view adult education. Valerie, the feminist student, believes strongly that the ethical role of adult educators is to create environments where people can surface just how the social and material reality of their lives is constructed in unequal power relationships based on gender, race, class, ability and sexual orientation (Cunningham, 1988). Tom, the supervisor, on the other hand, believes adult educators may be guided by other, equally valid, moral imperatives. Will this relationship ever work?

Tom says...

Valerie and I have talked about "power" on many occasions, but only recently have we begun to explore more fully what each of us means when we use the word. We both recognize that we are in an asymmetrical power relationship in which I am the more powerful partner. Valerie has voiced her desire for power to be "shared" which to me presupposes that we have the option to decide to make the relationship more symmetrical. My first response to this was that the power I possess as a faculty member can't be "shared" in the conventional sense because it is largely a function of the structure of the university, including how decisions are made about key events in the lives of students. There are many structural features of this university that reflect and reproduce the power imbalances that exist between faculty and students—even advanced doctoral students, some of whom are preparing to enter the professorate.

This year and last Valerie asked me to write letters of reference on her behalf for several fellowship competitions. The fact that she had to ask and that I had the option to do it or not reflects this imbalance in power. Valerie is experienced in these games and has done her best to coach me in what she regards as important information to include in the letters. I sense that she is aware of how such coaching can backfire if I regard it as too insistent or directive. As is usually the case, these letters are regarded as "confidential" which I have always interpreted to mean that they are not shown to the student or to others who are outside the decision making process. In one conversation this fall, Valerie asked if I would be giving her a copy of the letter I wrote. She indicated that another faculty member had done so and that she—Valerie—had found it helpful to know what was said in the letter. My response was, "No…I don't do that." I explained that if I provided a copy for one student, I would feel morally obligated to provide copies to all those who ask for references. If I provided copies of letters to the students concerned, then I would not feel as free to provide a candid assessment of each person's strengths and weaknesses. This leaves Valerie—and other students—guessing about what I said in my letter and not knowing whether I helped or hindered their chances of getting access to important resources.

If I think about this example using a common sense notion of power, I can see why the asymmetrical character of our relationship is so troubling and why "sharing" power could be desirable. The fact that I can write whatever I want in these letters and students will not have any recourse is morally troubling. I have an ethical obligation to the adjudication committees for these awards to provide an accurate and complete assessment and I also have an obligation to the student to not jeopardize her or his chances of getting support by submitting an overly negative or sloppy letter. I have heard that some students hold the view that if the letter can't be a glowing endorsement, then I shouldn't agree to write a letter at all. I don't accept this view, but knowing that it is "out there" has caused me to think more carefully about accepting invitations to provide a reference. I have also thought about what sort of process would reflect a more balanced power relationship while at the same allow me to fulfil my ethical obligations to adjudication committees and sponsors.

I did a literature search for publications that addressed the power relations involved in graduate education—particularly in the research supervision process. It was interesting to note that one recent study (Aguinis, Nesler, Quigley, Lee and Tedeschi, 1996) directly on the topic used a very old taxonomy of power developed by French and Raven (1959). Aguinis et al argue that "The French and Raven power taxonomy is especially relevant to the study of supervising professor-student power interactions because it is a theory of power that applies to *dyadic relationships*" (p. 271). Following are the five types of power as they apply to the faculty/student relationship:

> **Coercive power**—the ability of a faculty member to "punish" the student if the student does not conform in ways regarded as acceptable by the faculty member (p. 157-158).
>
> **Reward power**—the ability of one person to mediate rewards for another. In a faculty/student relationship the faculty member may provide or withhold rewards to the student in order to shape the student's behavior in a way considered acceptable by the faculty member (p. 156-157).
>
> ***Legitimate power***—stems from values held by the student which dictate that the faculty member has a legitimate right to influence the student and that the student has a sense of obligation to accept this influence (p. 159).
>
> ***Referent power***—based on the identification of the student with the faculty member, what the authors refer to as "a feeling of oneness" or a desire for such an identity (p. 161). Referent power would be strong if the student felt a high degree of identification with the faculty member, or with becoming a faculty member.
>
> ***Expert power***—based on the perception that the faculty member "has some special knowledge or expertness" (p. 156). "The range of expert power…is more delimited than that of referent power. Not only is it restricted to cognitive systems but the expert is seen as having superior knowledge or ability in very specific areas, and his [sic] power will be limited to these areas…" (p. 164).

Although somewhat dated and possibly overly psychological, I thought these distinctions were potentially useful for discussing our relationship because they would allow us to talk about power more concretely. For example, the process of students requesting letters of reference and faculty members agreeing to write them seems ripe for analysis using some of the distinctions above. What forms of power do students believe that faculty possess that leads them to ask faculty for references? How do students expect these perceived forms of power to play out when reference letters are read by members of adjudication committees? What happens to a student's view of faculty power when the student does not receive financial support? And is the French/Raven taxonomy useful in any way when the notion of "sharing power" is discussed?

After reading the 1996 article and the original French and Raven chapter, Valerie did not initially accept either as helpful in part because the studies seemed overly "masculinist" and took no account of gender, race, class and other differences. She was also suspicious of the taxonomy because it did not address these issues.

The exchange over this research was another—dare I say—predictable outcome of two people working together who bring to the collaboration two very different perspectives on what constitutes legitimate or useful knowledge. Yet I worry about her quick rejection of recent research based on the gender of its authors and the assumption that taxonomies are inherently limiting. There is not much research that we could find that is directly on the subject of faculty/graduate student relationships, so it seems to me that everything that has been done in the past 5 years deserves a careful look.

Shortly after this, Valerie gave me some material that provides a feminist analysis of Foucault's notion of power-knowledge (McNeil, 1993). Although this piece is engaging and provocative, I have yet to see how it can be used to deepen our analysis. It does provide an orientation to discourse analysis as a means of uncovering power relations, so maybe this reflexive process we are engaged in is a perfect illustration of a discourse-in-need-of-deconstruction. We seem to be attempting to influence the direction of our collaboration by proposing literature that we each feel most comfortable with. Our collaboration is forcing us to read literature—both masculinist and feminist—that we might not otherwise be inclined to explore and in that way it is beneficial to me. I wonder if Valerie feels the same way?

Valerie says...

I've spent the last two and a half months writing scholarship applications. Over and over and over. I have re-arranged words, deconstructed language, read between, under, behind and on top of the lines of instructions, written what I want, what "they" want and what I don't want. But hardest of all is the begging of references. I don't choose that word, begging, lightly. The most difficult references to ask for are the ones from people who know you the best—like Tom, my supervisor. I know that, even though our relationship has improved over the last two years, this is one of the areas where the differences between us are most acute. I want to stereotype and say, Oh, that must be a male thing, or, Well, typical of the old academy! He's amenable at times to suggestion, but then I feel I am acting out the typical Woman stereotype—manipulating the honest, bluff, open Man, using my feminine wiles to get what I want from Him. Like all stereotypes, there's enough recognisability to make it disquieting, and again, typically, we both seem to look only for confirming evidence for our stereotypical views on blind white males and deaf feminists (Griffiths, 1995).

Too often these last months I've felt as if I'm trespassing on sacred academic ground with him—this far, and no further! I still believe there's a possibility for collaboration, for a sharing of power, for joint decisions on who is responsible for what in my graduate education, and for an understanding between us that the relationship will not be about abusing that shared power, but about a moral and ethical sense of caring. And not that stereotypical feminine 'caring'—he's the one with the kids, family, even a dog, all that, not me. If anyone fits the nurturer stereotype, it's much more likely to be him than me. But this reference business brings up so much of the old hashed over stuff, feminist stuff, gendered stuff—much easier to do without it, but it persists in coming back in to our relationship. So...

About begging. I have knocked on doors, sent emails, faxes and made phone-calls. I've also been debating with myself, and fellow students, about just what makes a good reference and just what part a good reference plays in a good (read, winning) application. What student has not known the agony of asking, nicely, Would you give me a reference for a SSHRCC, UGF, or whatever, and really wanted to say, So, Prof, is it going to be a good reference, or are you going to give me the kiss of death letter? And who dares ask to see the reference when it's written? Well, I did ask... ouch. I read in the small print of the SSHRCC that under the Freedom of Information Act, candidates can see their references, but really, who in their right mind would demand that? Only someone who had won? There's no way I'll ask Tom again. So, I may not know what a good reference is, but I've come to the conclusion that this scholarship game is the best example of a discourse in effect that I have come across in a long time.

Foucault's definition of discourses as being both historical and specific of certain knowledges and the truths that come from them—what we can speak about in specific times and spaces—fit the scholarship-application process to a 't'. He says, "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together"; he goes on, "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (1990, p. 100-1). Here I am more inclined to agree with bell hooks, who wrote that subverting dominant forms, undermining them, "happens much more easily in the realm of 'texts' than in the world of human interaction...in which such moves challenge, disrupt, threaten, where repression is real" (1990, p. 22.) Indeed, I would love to subvert the process, but how?

If discourses are enabling as well as constraining, then perhaps we should be using then more creatively, watching how we build our world with them, and then mutating them, just a little, making not-quite-new discourses fit old power structures. Subtly, planting notions, cultivating new discourses… How about one where professor and student write a letter together? But...

This is how the supervision/power relations process works along side the scholarship one. Actually, it's all about relations, this scholarship game. It's about how we want to define ourselves as same or different from others/supervisors, about how power relations force both of us to identify (or not) as same, not different. It's about how we represent ourselves and how others more powerful than us represent us. Above all, it's about whether we've learned to discipline ourselves well enough to be accepted in our disciplines, whether we've fitted ourselves snugly enough into our places in the(ir) taxonomies and classificatory grids of education.

In the studies on supervision that Tom turned up, few, if any, of the researchers, asked questions about how gender, race, class and sexual orientation—to name just a few post structural 'variables'—affected the supervisory relationship. The discourses of masculinist scholarship and research didn't allow for that, yet it's what most of us think about, privately. We just don't speak of it. In those same studies, none mention the material facts of power relations, even as they define just what (they think) power is. And for feminists like me, it's inconceivable to not start there, with the assumption that you can't "add in" power relations. Any description of any relationship must begin with the fact that there exists an (often asymmetrical) power relation between those in it. Starting with our "personal experience", or subject position, as we tend to call it now, we must acknowledge that power relations exist. And especially in educational relationships between teacher and learner, or supervisor and student.

Of course, Foucault (1990) believed that education was one of the "innumerable institutional devices and discursive strategies" (p. 30) used to regulate populations and to control individuals. But "power is only tolerable on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself" (p. 87). Power is not a thing imposed from above, but something that works its way through all social relations—and in the "internal discourses of the institution—the one it employ[s] to address itself, and which circulate[s] among those who make it function". While I question the consensual nature of power that marks Foucault's thinking, I agree with him, that for power to operate, "Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms... For it, secrecy is not in the nature of an abuse, it is indispensable to its operation...perhaps just as indispensable to those whom it dominates..." (p. 86). I support rendering power relations visible—at least an admission that we do operate in a hierarchy of power relations, even if we do not want to disturb it. And that that hierarchy is based on *coercive* power. Making power visible is about asking awkward questions: Will I get a good reference, Why not, Have I been a good enough girl, Am I ready yet, to be admitted further into your/this masculinist discipline?

I use the term 'masculinist' as meaning "work which, while claiming to be exhaustive, forgets about women's existence and concerns itself only with the position of men" (Le Doeuff, 1991, p. 18). Masculinism is apparent in the choice of topics for research, the way it writes up that research in "unextravagant, unembellished, unpretentious, unexceptional, un(re)marked" ways (Rose, 1993, p. 8), the way it assumes a rationality and knowledge as existing separate from bodies, emotions, values, history, location—in all the discursive ways that signify that the scholar of the university's choice is the "master subject" (Haraway, 1991). He is white, bourgeois, heterosexual and masculine.

The gender, race, class, etc., of the researchers in those studies didn't affect their setting of questions. It's not necessary to be white, masculine, bourgeois, heterosexual. One can learn—one must learn?—to be so constituted, or at least to represent oneself as the master subject/scholar. To show, in writing up research, in choosing topics, in being referenced, privately, in "good" letters, and publicly, in print, that one has mastered the discipline. Any questions about this process must be neatly tidied away, left unsaid, along with the other questions we don't ask. …And in the end, as one professor told me, the deciding factor is getting high-powered, over-the-top references. First, of course, you have to prove you belong, that you are Same to their Same, that's that *referent* power...

Ethically, what does it mean to pretend to be doing research you won't do, to write differently (don't put any poems in, stay away from that post modern jargon and name dropping!) from your usual style/of/life-/writing, to claim yourself as not what you really are (as if there were a real, essential self... Ah, but there is, the master subject/self), to represent yourself falsely, in order to succeed in the scholarship game of life? What does it say of our academic world that this is one of the taken-for-granted rules of this discursive engagement, that we all know, are all complicit with each other, that, Well, of course, that's not really what I am going to do, say, be, but you and I will just pretend.

Do we have a responsibility for our truth? Or is truth just the effect of power and knowledge, flowing from diverse discourses? What would happen if we responsibly contested the masculinist public performances of seminars, writing styles, fieldwork? If we contested the private performances of masculinity? What would happen if I asked Tom, Let me see that reference. And, Why don't we re-write it, together? Or, if I went to the Head of the Scholarship Committee, and said, Let me sit in on your SSHRCC deliberations—I want to know what my ranking is, how you decided if I win or fail? What if we both went, or even five of us, or ten, or twenty, faculty and students? Ah, but...

But for all our differences, both of us feel strongly that power is not entirely repressive, nor need it be negative. Power can be productive. If it flows from one structure to another, if power always creates resistance, then it can be turned around, taken up, used, to confront and change unequal or oppressive relationships.

Valerie says... Isn't the very act of our speaking out about the relationship between supervisor and student—that relationship, which, by dint of its being kept discreetly invisible, and which by its very taken-for-grantedness, becomes a discursive strategy reproducing existing educational power structures, isn't that breaking of silence a beginning...

Tom says... I keep returning to the "responsible use of power" as an overriding principle in my relationships with others. But understanding what that means in each relationship can only be achieved by making explicit the issues Valerie is brave enough to raise with me and which I am willing to discuss. Doing both requires such commitment that I fear the time may come when neither of us is willing to do either.

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Symposia

Rethinking Participation Research in Adult Education: International Perspectives

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Abstract. The purpose of this symposium is to analyze research on participation in adult education from an international perspective. Panelists will discuss findings from their respective parts of the world and consider how research and theory on this important phenomenon can be advanced.

Background, overview. The increased interest of governments world-wide in educational reform and the promotion of lifelong learning has stimulated renewed interest in the phenomenon of adult participation in a whole range of educational endeavors, both formal and informal. At the same time, major new surveys in the U.S., the U.K., and Australia have made their appearance. These suggest the perpetuation of 'inequities' so well documented in earlier surveys, even as they provoke new questions about who participates in adult education and why; the benefits of participation beyond the realm of vocational expediency; how the field of adult education as a whole is changing; and why participation related issues receive differential attention across the world. It is within this broader global-political context, that this symposium brings together, perhaps for the first time, a range of analytical perspectives on participation research from the U.S., Australia and the United Kingdom. The session will be chaired by Kjell Rubenson, a U.S. and European expert in the macro study of adult education and training.

Among the objectives of the symposium:

Reporting on recent participation research in different countries;
Theorizing the phenomenon from different perspectives;
Addressing commonalities among approaches and
Defining directions for future research.

Among the questions we would like to raise either in the various presentations or with the audience are the following:

Does it make sense to continue with a concept of participation which combines distinct social-demographic and educational sponsorship groups together?
What are alternative perspectives that can be deployed to theorize participation, including social and cultural analyzes?
What are the implications of viewing participation as a socio-cultural rather than psychological phenomenon?

Perspectives from the United States

Recent, and in some cases substantial, changes not only in the phenomenon of participation itself, but in the manner in which national studies are conducted and the relevant statistics are reported has created an opportunity for adults educators and educational researchers to debate the meaning of this body of work both for the discipline and theory of adult education as well as for its practice. Not since 1981, the last detailed survey of participation in Adult Education in the U.S., has the field had the opportunity of examining in detail the changing face of organized adult education in this country. Surveys undertaken in 1991 and 1995, both available for personal analysis on CD-ROMs, suggest not only that participation as a national phenomenon has increased dramatically, but, perhaps, more significantly, that there may have been serious underestimation of participation in the past. At the same time, the decision by the National Center for Education Statistics to break down reporting of participation statistics into distinct educational subcategories highlights a possible new awareness that reports of overall rates of participation and their correlation with socio-demographic variables--the standard reporting procedure in the past--may have outlived their usefulness.

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Two recent surveys of participation in adult education (PAE) in the U.S. peg overall rates at 33% (NHES, 1991) and 40% (NCES, 1995). Both figures would increase by around 5% if certain traditionally excluded categories (e.g. all those 17 and over taking part in university based programs whether full-time or part-time) were included. The figures on trends are no less dramatic. If we compare statistics from 1969, the year in which the first comparable federal surveys were conducted, with surveys undertaken in 1981, 1991 and 1995, the following profile emerges:

> Gender: Males 'lost' to females between 1969 and 1984 and have not recovered as a proportion of the total participant group (46% vs. 54% in 1995);
>
> Race/ethnicity The category of White participation has declined from a high of 92% (1969) to the current rate of 77%, while Black participation has edged slowly upwards from 7-10%. The most dramatic increases have been among Hispanics (from negligible in 1969 to 7% today, while for "Other", mainly Asian, the increase has been fivefold, though overall numbers are small.
>
> Age-wise, PAE continues to be a game of the younger rather than older age cohorts, with the baby boomer category moving steadily through the ranks (the 17-34 age group was by far the largest category in 1969; now it is even with the 35-54 age grouping)
>
> Education is among the most significant predictors of participation (in 1969 a mere 16% of those without high school diplomas took part in adult education; today that figure has been halved. Correspondingly, the figure with the most dramatic increase, from 20% in 1969 to 35% of the total PAE population in 1995, is among those with 1-3 years of college.
>
> Those with higher incomes (making more than $40,000 per annum) constitute almost half of all participants; while the same groups constituted less than 30% of the total in 1969.
>
> Labor Force Status: As expected, participants are more likely to be employed than unemployed (a rate of 54% for those in the labor force vs. 25% for those not)
>
> The three largest providers of instruction (approximately 17% a piece) in 1984 were: the two-year community college, the four-year college, and business and industry. Since then, the share of the first dropped to 13% in 1991 and 10% in 1995; the share of the second moved down to 13% and then rebounded to 19%; while for that of the latter--business--the trend was dramatically upwards to 28% in 1991, dropping to 21% by 1995
>
> Statistics on reasons and motives for participation now provide a more complex picture with the separation of the participant population. As expected, the vocational motive continues to dominate the picture.
>
> Preliminary figures on barriers to participation queried in the 1991 survey for the first time, indicate a surprising commonality of barriers for different demographic groups, with some important exceptions; one being in the area of child care which pits women strongly against men. (Source on the above, Courtney & Chanchem, 1997)

Now consider the implications of these varied findings. First, if overall rates of PAE have increased as dramatically as depicted--doubled between 1981 and 1991 and a further 7% between '91 and '95--this is quite contrary to the orderly increases we have been witnessing since 1969, (Courtney, 1992; Chimene, 1984). If true, where has the access population come from and who is providing it with instruction? Analysis of provider statistics suggest increases in some sponsor areas but not, apparently, on the order that would be required to explain the size of the increase. In attempting to account for this, the surveys' conductors have pointed to the likelihood that, for a variety of complex statistical reasons, the size of the increases may not be as dramatic as at first presumed. However, in doing so they have raised another question: the strong possibility that previous rate reports have been seriously *underestimations* of the true rate of PAE in this country. So, with respect to the condition of PAE in the U.S. we have a situation whereby we may not have received a true picture of the phenomenon since, possibly, 1965 when Johnstone and Rivera released their landmark study. At the same time, we, as a discipline and profession, do not have ready-to-hand explanations for the order of magnitude that we are now apparently witnessing.

This leads to a second consideration. Beginning in 1995, and continuing perhaps indefinitely, reporting for some of the key areas of the phenomenon is by *category* of participation only. Thus, while we continue to receive information on overall rates of participation with respect to the traditional demographic factors, e.g. gender, income, ethnicity, etc., these rates as they correlate with, e.g. motives and barriers, are not being provided. It is as if the appropriate federal body charged with eliciting this information has determined that, for all practical purposes, adult education is not a single overarching entity but a series of discrete categories of provision each replete with its own populations, sources of provision, and dynamic conditions pertaining to forms of activity. These areas as now determined by the government are: ESL, ABE/GED, Credential programs, Work-related courses, and Personal development courses. Break out reports from the federal government reflect these distinctions making it increasingly difficulty to speak about adult education as a unitary, integrated phenomenon. This symposium will address this and related questions.

On a macro level, the current profile of the learner taken in conjunction with the trend data suggest important and perhaps fundamental consistencies about the nature of PAE in this country, with respect to demographics such as education, income and the like. There is clearly a side to adult education which makes it a 'young person's game,' which ties adult education to occupational and social mobility and which in very culturally specific ways reflects the average American's pursuit of individual identity. At the same time, new 'players' have appeared on the scene (consider, for example, the rise in education provided by private community, religious and a host of other organizational forms), even as traditional sources of provision remain steady and even decline in importance. What is the significance of these trends for adult education practice?

Conceptual and Theoretical Issues. Clearly, we need to revisit how we are conceptualizing PAE. It is somewhat of an irony that when Burton Kreitlow called for a rethinking of the phenomenon back in the early 1970s, he was concerned that we had been too sociological. Today, of course, our concern is that orientation to the subject precludes the larger socio-cultural dimension that would give meaning to what will always appear, given the nature of the American ideology, as a function of individual decision-making. The recent effort to provide the field with its own sociology, e.g. the work of Rubenson, coupled with attempts to create a more complex sociology of educational phenomena, e.g. by including the works of Anthony Giddens, gives us hope here. However, it has to be said that as long as we remain at the level of theory *without* the concomitant support of empirical data, we cannot expect our understanding of this complex psychological as well as socio-cultural phenomenon to be advanced. Surprisingly, our journals, with few exceptions, contain no examples of substantive aggregate and subcategorical analysis of modern PAE in the U.S. Surely, it is difficult for right thinking men and women to expect to advance arguments for or reach consensus on various remedies to perceived national problems, without some more fundamental understanding of the vagaries of the phenomenon as these have been traced by successive federal studies.

Perspectives from Australia

Since 1992 there has been a flood of research on participation in research on adult education in Australia, stimulated by several factors (1) the high priority which government has given to education and training reform (2) recognition of adult community education as a 'sector' following an inquiry by the Senate of the Federal Parliament (Senate 1992) and (3) the lobbying work of professional associations, including activities such as Adult Learners Week.

Surveys of participation divide into (1) those which examine adult course-taking across a range of providers including employers such as the studies commissioned by the AAACE (Evans, 1994; McIntyre & Crombie, 1996), and (2) those which examine community-based adult education under the aegis of state adult education authorities (e.g. ACFE, 1995; McIntyre, Foley, Morris & Tennant, 1995). The term 'adult education' refers to a broad spectrum of provision with an ambiguous relationship to formal systems of vocational and higher education. By and large this research has shown that those most likely to participate in any form of 'adult education' are relatively advantaged in their education, employment and income. A key national survey (McIntyre & Crombie, 1996) showed one in four adults had taken a short course within the last year, that men and women appear equally likely to have participated, though participation declines sharply in older people. Half the courses taken were provided by an employer, union or industry association. The higher the occupational group, the higher educational level and personal income, the more likely it is that someone participates. Studies of community-based provision have shown the preponderance of women, and their potential to reach disadvantaged individuals, as well as typical age, education, occupation and employment profiles (McIntyre Foley Morris & Tennant, 1995).

The point of much of this research has been to put 'adult education' on the policy map, as the state intervenes to reshape education and training (McIntyre 1997). The research has been expected to demonstrate the meanings of participation for key policy agendas. These include (1) the vocationalism agenda, of increasing the skills of the workforce and (2) the equity or social justice agenda, of widening participation education and training and increasing access to jobs. However, it has also addressed (3) a professionalization agenda, where the 'sector' of providers has attempted to gain recognition and better resourcing by government by contributing to vocational and equity outcomes.

Conceptual and theoretical issues. Because of the social and economic interests of the policy context, research has moved away from a psychological view of participation found in the North American literature. All the evidence on typical adult participants suggests that participation represents social and cultural choices. Participation can be understood in simplistic terms as the result of individual motives or dispositions, but this is to ignore key political and economic questions about who participates, in what kinds of institutions to what ends, and who pays.

There have been a number of developments in Australian research which are contributing to social and cultural perspectives on participation. These include: (1) the use of well-developed typologies of courses, motives and learners so that relationships in participation can be modeled;

(2) an emphasis on the 'knowledge factor' in course choices, recognizing that participants choose to participate in a course in a particular field of study; (3) an emphasis on participation by clienteles and communities, or understanding how specific types of participants choose to engage in particular types of types of courses, in given localities and under given conditions of provision (4) bringing survey methodologies together with provider case studies and community analysis. This broader approach has led us to emphasize some neglected questions surrounding the nature of the adult education agencies and their community context as factors in participation - to understand participation in terms of an 'ecology of provision'. An ecological analysis sees participation patterns as the result of an interplay of government funding regimes, provider cultures and strategies, the demands of adult learner clienteles and the character of the 'community' being served. One recent study applied this approach to study differences in participation at the postcode level in Sydney and NSW drawing on data about the finances of provider organizations, statistics on their participants and local area census data (McIntyre, Brown & Ferrier 1997).

This study showed how the broader political economic factors shape the ecology of provision. The 'marketization' of education has accentuated the nature of adult education as a 'user-pays' system. To survive financially in this system, agencies target relatively advantaged clienteles who are concentrated in particular localities and have a capacity to pay for the courses they want at a given level of fees. In the absence of a funding regime which requires equity outputs, participation is narrowed to clienteles resident in more affluent areas and advantaged in terms of qualifications, employment and income. The needs and interests of these clienteles then shape the content and culture of provision. Provision and participants are mutually shaping. This provides one explanation for the participant profiles that are typical of institutionalized adult education.

Conclusion: Rethinking participation. In this perspective, participation research needs to recognize the diversity of institutional forms of provision and examine how these cater to different types of clienteles. Studies should examine the social and cultural conditions which set the context for provision, especially those which limit opportunities for disadvantaged individuals to participate. In turn, research should turn attention to the forms and practices of provision. Researchers should vigorously reassert the value of participation research, for several reasons. (1) The policy emphasis on formal participation occurring in developed economies under the rubric of 'lifelong learning' should lead us to ask what this participation represents. (2) The restructuring of post-school educational institutions, by marketization, internationalization and other forces, direct attention to the nature of institutions as changing contexts for adult learning. Not only educational institutions, but workplaces and other organizational contexts can be examined as sites of participation. (3) A third is the need to give social and cultural context to 'adult learning' which for too long has been defined in psychological and individualistic terms.

Perspectives from the United Kingdom

Participation research in Britain has focused typically on identifying the characteristics, motives and attitudes of the groups who engage in post compulsory education and training and the barriers that deter those who do not. It involves mainly national polls of representative samples of the population and individual area-based, institution-based or subject-based studies that can be both quantitative and qualitative. During the last few years, further and higher education institutions have been required to produce more detailed student data than ever before.

Although not as in-depth as some might wish, the statistics enable institutions to identify with more precision than previously the characteristics of their student body, beyond the blanket descriptors of age, gender and race, and provide the baseline data they need to inform policy and recruitment strategies.

The picture emerging from such studies reflects to some extent the major social and economic changes that have taken place over the last decades, in particular the far greater involvement of women in the labor force. Recent participation patterns have also been shaped by educational policy, particularly the stress on vocationalism and accreditation and the requirement for further and higher education institutions to achieve specified growth without increased funding. In response to all these factors and increased ease of access, there has been a sharp increase in the numbers of adult learners (as opposed to school and sixth-form leavers who are generally aged 16 and 18 respectively) entering colleges and universities. Over half of students in further education are aged over 25. These include people without standard entrance qualifications, people from the lower socio-economic groups and members of ethnic minority communities. Women are now the majority of students in further education and make up nearly 50 per cent of those in higher education.

At the same time labor force surveys suggest that more people than before are being offered work-related training by their employers and this is heralded as a move towards lifelong learning. However, the statistics can be misleading and suggest more advances than have actually been made. For all the words spoken and written about lifelong learning, we are still light years away from achieving it. The national PAE survey conducted for NIACE in 1996 revealed that about 60 per cent had not been engaged in any formal or informal learning activity during the previous three years and 36 per cent had not engaged in any organized learning since leaving school. Of the 40 per cent who were participants:

> The highest participation rates were among the younger cohorts and those in the highest socio-economic categories: the lowest were among older adults and those in the lowest socio-economic groups.
>
> About 60 per cent of those who had left school at age 18 were current or recent learners compared with 20 per cent of those who had left school below 16 and 39 per cent of those who had left at age 16-17.
>
> The majority of current learners were likely to continue learning: 81 per cent of those who had not engaged in learning since leaving school said they were unlikely to participate in the future.(Tuckett and Sargant, 1996)

This prompted the conclusion that: "the UK is increasingly two nations: one convinced of the value of learning (…); the other choosing not to join the learning society." (Tuckett and Sargant, 1996). The survey showed that the key factors involved in participation continue to be length of initial schooling, age and socio-economic status. Another important factor is prior participation: adults who have already engaged in learning are more likely to continue than those who have not, confirming the common finding that participation in post compulsory learning is a continuing rather than remedial or catching-up activity.

Data from the different education and training sectors confirm this picture. Statistics indicate that individuals, and especially men, from an unskilled, manual working background are conspicuously underrepresented in further education and that, despite the expansion of higher education, the overall social profile of students has not substantially changed. Employer-supported training still chiefly benefits higher educated workers in higher status positions (Blundell, Dearden and Meghir, 1996). Qualification levels are lowest among one of the most rapidly growing clusters of the workforce - part-time workers and although we have some (extremely modest) national targets to improve qualification levels, the annual increase in achievement of the targets designed for adults has been minuscule (less than one per cent in 1994-95).

A number of factors account for this situation among which I would single out cultural factors and glaring contradictions in policy which mean that while education and training have ostensibly become more accessible, certain aspects of economic and employment policy still prevent many - especially those who are on welfare benefits - from taking advantage of the opportunities available. Nevertheless widening participation and encouraging 'lifelong learning' have become a preoccupation of both the last and the current government, prompted by worries about the number of welfare claimants, unemployment and changing labor market conditions, and continuing evidence that, in some respects, we are less well educated than people in other western nations. Under the last government a number of lifelong learning initiatives were launched and a committee set up to examine widening participation in further education. Funding was also made available to increase nontraditional student access to higher education.

The new government is strongly committed to improving educational standards and has launched its own crop of initiatives. These are characterized by partnerships between the different sectors and include the establishment of 'individual learning accounts'; a 'New Deal' involving education, training and employment options specifically for young unemployed people and lone parents; a (probably misnamed) 'University for Industry' which will offer distance learning in the workplace, the home and community settings to those unable or unwilling to study in conventional settings, and the establishment of 'education action zones' in disadvantaged areas. In addition, a special advisory group on Lifelong Learning was set up last year and has produced a report which will inform a long-awaited White (policy) Paper (now due in February 1998).

As with the last government, the stress is on improving individual 'employability' rather than any broader educational objectives (although references are also frequently made to education for citizenship). There is also an ostensible concern with 'social exclusion'. Nevertheless, some policies, such as the recent decision to abolish maintenance grants for higher education students and to charge tuition fees, appear more likely to narrow than broaden participation. As the new programs are only just being piloted, it is too early to gauge their overall impact. Later this year it should be possible to see whether the new initiatives will achieve the objective of widening participation or whether, like former projects, they will have a limited and marginal impact on just a few individuals.

But in order to change participation in any meaningful way we need a different research emphasis. Given the fact that the majority of adult learners have similar characteristics despite the cultural diversity of the population, together with strong evidence that many forms of post compulsory learning do not attract large segments of the population, what is needed is more emphasis on *difference*: on identifying the different educational requirements and interests of non learning groups and the recruitment methods, curriculum approaches and learning methodologies that would most appeal to them. For once schools are leading the way. In response to mounting concern about the ever-widening gap in achievement between girls and boys, some are piloting new approaches to working with boys. Such research would be timely. The availability of central funding to 'widen participation' is leading further and higher education institutions to seek ways of reaching out to the wider community and some very obviously don't have a clue where to start.

Another useful research direction would be to examine participation in education less as a separate phenomenon but as something that is intimately interlinked with other dimensions - social and personal - of a person's life. Some of the most interesting data on participation patterns and outcomes are emerging not from PAE surveys but from longitudinal cohort studies - the National Child Development Study - involving successive surveys of over 17,000 people born in a single week in 1958 - and a similar exercise involving a cohort born in 1970 - the 1970 British Cohort Study. These are providing invaluable evidence of the combined impact of personal, social, economic and educational factors on the development and life chances of individuals.

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Tabooed Terrain: Reflections On Conducting Adult Education Research In Lesbian/Gay/Queer Arenas

Kathleen Edwards, Andre Grace, Brenda Henson, Wanda Henson,
Robert J. Hill, and Ed Taylor

Robert J. Hill

The issues to be explored in this symposium are the multiple ways that same-sex orientation is negotiated and mediated in Adult Education research. The sociology of learning and other diverse bodies of literature (e.g. gay/queer theory) show that, in the main, same-sex orientation (matter related to Lesbians, Gay men, Transgendered, Bisexuals and Transsexuals) is treated as tabooed terrain in both the academy and society (Hill, 1995), often with grave results. In this symposium, panelist Andre Grace positions his early developmental denial of queer being and acting as a form of self-mutilation. Andre has taken up a self-directed project of autobiographical writing and theorizing as a means to subvert society's forbidden parameters. Since many educators and community members fall back on stereotypes, internalized homophobia and homoprejudice that flagrantly compromise the very principles for which they labor (Harbeck, 1997), Andre has learned to name and express his outlawed self.

The work of panelist Kathleen Edwards, using a theory of narrative analysis, shows the significance of sexual stories as scholarship and as sites to explore the trajectories of self and society. She articulates that adult educators are confronted with sexual orientation on a regular basis as both personal and public issues for ourselves and those we teach and learn from. As such, we have an obligation to guarantee that all who engage in learning enjoy the same measure of equality. Yet, studies show that, for the most part, Gay men and Lesbians (estimated at more than 1.2 million students in the 1987 college and university population) have been silenced and rendered invisible--or worse, face violent acts of hate in schools, including places of higher (tertiary) learning (Tierney, 1992; Hill, 1995).

Acceptance of prejudice contributes to the authority of privileged heterosexuality, validating discrimination against others (Grayson, 1987). Panelists Brenda and Wanda Henson expose the abandoning-response of peers and faculty in the academy as a result of their politics of presence as out Lesbians. The example of a closeted faculty member, outlined by Wanda Henson, speaks to the power of compulsory silence--and the personal costs that are paid by "suspected sexual outlaws." Adult educators in academe, as well as in the larger public sphere, should care about the maligning and neglect that individuals like the Hensons receive as learners. Yet, Wanda and Brenda's rich lives are a testimony to the triumph of becoming active social agents, intervening on their own behalf--a process of democratic freedom. Their journey has brought them to the place where they have become role models for others struggling to overcome the marginalization that creates inequities for both heterosexual and homosexual females and males alike.

The work of Sears (1992) shows that most educators, despite school policies or goals, labor unions or contracts, and professional ethics, are unwilling to address gay concerns and issues. This has not been the case for our some of our panelists, including Ed Taylor who interrogates the appropriateness of members of dominant groups doing research "on" or "with" out-group members. Ed's presentation probes the value of reflection and on-going dialog as antidotes to objectionable exteriority and invasive interiority.

This symposium's panelists attest to the fact that researchers, regardless of sexual orientation, pay costs for conducting gay inquiries. Not only are many learning environments hostile and insensitive to presumed or actual gay students, they are brutal on gay faculty too (Grayson, 1987). Gay educators report that dual identity is an institutionalized necessity because of fear of reprisals, loss of jobs, friends, family and student rapport. Yet, as we learn in the symposium, performing gay research or "being gay" can garner esteem, increasing one's cultural capital within the sphere of equity specialists, and may allow the researcher inhabit a privileged location.

In this symposium, presenters explore a combination of competing and complimentary perspectives, including both the theoretical and the personal dimensions of conducting adult education research in Lesbian/Gay/Queer arenas. It is widely accepted that different social standpoints yield different views of the world, thus, the panelists have been selected from the ranks of: gay and straight researchers conducting sexual identity studies, female and male, theoreticians and reflective practitioners, and faculty and graduate students. Research conducted in the academy and within the grassroots folk education milieu are represented. As facilitator, it is my hope that those who participate in the symposium are as challenged and provoked by the panelists as I have been. They hold their various positions from case-based learning, personal experience, knowledge of the literature, empirical research, and critical analysis of everyday life--locations that give them clear authority on the subjects they present.

The symposium is a summons to adult educators to interrogate our present knowledge, beliefs, and practices, and to question the assumptions that ground our theories and routines of adult education research. We, as citizens and educators, need to ensure: equal learning opportunities, a safe learning environment, and supportive spaces for living and recreating for all. In 1983, Audre Lorde exhorted educators, saying, "if we truly want to eliminate oppression, then heterosexism and homophobia must be addressed" (Gordon, 1983). A decade and a half later, this symposium looks at how far we've come in building communities of difference and hope in the academy, offering material for both debate and adoption by adult educators.

Reflections on Queer Life Narratives as a Research Paradigm: Possibilities and Risks

Andre Grace

From those first awkward and scary moments in my twenties when I started to come to terms with my own queer identity-difference, I also began coming to terms with the reality that heterosexism and homophobia would be perennial and pervasive cultural deterrents shaping my being and acting in this world. In those fear-ridden days, it appeared that I would have to move stealthily, invisibly, and in silence through life so I might attain a degree of safety and security in our often uncivil society. However, as I came to terms with my own queerness, I realized that such a solution was no solution. For me, silence and invisibility amounted to forms of self-mutilation. They constituted a denial of queer being and acting that led to sickness and thoughts of a final solution. Indeed, they were tantamount to a suicide of sorts.

I still think about these things. I consider how my queer life history shapes my being and acting in the everyday. As catharsis, and as part of locating myself in the spectral community of queer Others, I write autobiographical about my lived and learned experiences. I use life narrative as a research medium and short story and poetry as forms of expression. Furthermore, I theorize what I write about so that I can understand my experiences better. For me, writing and theorizing have become ways of challenging a politics of silence and invisibility that left me afraid, angry and isolated. They are also ways to investigate a politics of exclusion that leaves queer persons without the full rights and privileges accorded to those ninety percent of citizens who travel along a road too straight and narrow for me. Writing and theorizing help me to understand how I might act in the intersection of hope and desire to challenge my locatedness as an uncitizen. They also help me to name and understand the risks involved. In effect, they are part of figuring out what Roby Kidd (1973) called "being, becoming, and belonging" (p. 5).

Usher, Bryant, and Johnston (1997), writing about adult education and the postmodern challenge, suggest that the purposes of research are to take the researcher (desiring to be a reflective practitioner) beyond the limits of present knowledge to gather new "facts" and explanations and, from a postmodern perspective, to question their grounding in conventional belief systems and contemporary research and practices. Lived out, these purposes would make mainstream space for autobiographical queer life-narrative research capable of informing an inclusionary contemporary practice. Of course, this research is filled with possibilities and fraught with risks for the queer adult educator fulfilling roles as both the researcher and the researched. Constituting exposition on the rough terrain bridging desire and risk, queer life-narrative research is "tabooed terrain." It challenges scripted research practices locked into acceptable and accepted ways of conducting research. Since queer identity-difference is textured by race, gender, class, age and other relations of power, queer life-narrative research further alters the research script when it is conducted in the intersection where queerness contributes to a person's multiple subjectivity. These intricacies shape queer life-narrative research as a contested mode of research used to inform queer theory (as a contested discourse) and queer pedagogy (as a contested form of practice).

While doing queer life-narrative research extends the parameters of present knowledge and challenges what we might believe and do as adult educators, engaging in this research is, indeed, a risk-taking process. We cannot ignore the effects of doing this research as exposition within our life spaces, especially in the present sociocultural milieu where a conservatism slurs our identity-difference using a rhetoric that supports heterosexist cultural traditions. hooks (1988) reminds us that the radically vocal Other is often viewed as a threat by those who already have voice. There are certainly many risks associated with research supporting a cultural politics that finds expression as inclusion education where we name and represent our queer multiple selves. For me, they include individual risks associated with dredging up memories and social risks associated with society's pathologizing of queerness. Thus it is crucial to remain wary. Queer persons need to consider the ways in which our life and research knowledges may be dangerous as we continue to reveal our diverse life spaces. We need to remember that "the price of our visibility is the constant threat of violence, [subtle and overt forms of] anti-queer violence to which practically every segment of this society contributes" (Browning 1993, 1994, p. 27).

Collins (1991) argues that we can do without a modern practice of adult education that fails to question existing hegemonic arrangements. He believes that, as vocation, adult education works with the diversity of Others and makes space for alternative democratic discourses in its mainstream practice. However, achieving this vocation remains a struggle for the queer Other in adult education and other social spaces. As Browning (1993, 1994) points out, "Gay people are admitted only to the degree that they sequester their difference and conduct a sexless public life that offers no model, no quarter, no inspiration to others - child or adult - who would explore all that is queer about themselves" (p.18). By speaking to issues of queer citizenship and cultural democracy, queer life narratives provide a challenge to adult education as a mainstream cultural practice. That challenge is to invigorate contemporary practice by building communities of identity-difference committed to creating a society where queer persons experience freedom, justice and other rights and privileges of full citizenship.

Border Crossing In Sexual Identity Research: A Straight Male Perspective

Ed Taylor

The appropriateness of members of dominant groups doing research "on" or "with" members of marginalized groups has become an issue in the research literature (Cotterill, 1992; Fine, 1995; Lather, 1991; Rhoads, 1994). In cross-border research of non-dominant groups, voices are brought to life and stories are told that often misrepresent the views of the research participant. Research findings are tailored, without much explanation of analysis, to support a particular argument; voices of those who prefer to be nonpolitical are made political; and stories of marginalized lives are often romanticized and over simplified (Lather, 1991). Khayatt (1992) speaks of this in her research with Lesbian teachers: "the experience is one of knowing ourselves as women through eyes that are not ours and through language that does not include us" (p. 87). Despite these concerns, others argue that it is important to conduct research across cultural borders. To leave research only to the "insider" is an essentialist trap to view cultural borders as concrete and static. "When we essentialize identity, we confess to an inability to understand difference and run the risk of constructing impermeable social barriers" (Rhoads, 1994, p. 3). Recognizing these various positions, it is the purpose of this discussion to explore related consequences of an actual "border crossing" research experience. In the Fall of 1995, I, a straight male, collaborated with a LesBi co-researcher to examine how "out" Lesbian and Gay faculty members deal with sexual orientation in the classroom and how they perceive their own sexual orientation affects the learning environment in adult higher education contexts (Tisdell & Taylor, 1995). From this experience four issues emerged that need recognition when conducting research across borders of sexual difference: (a) the fluid nature of sexual identity; (b) the "John Wayne Syndrome"; (c) the Insider/Outsider perspective; and (d) heterosexist assumptions.

When I first began identifying participants for this study, I became aware of the fluid nature of sexual identity. This was the result of resistance expressed by my co-researcher and some of the study participants to self-identify exclusively as gay or lesbian, arguing that they share traits of several orientations. It was as if sexual identity should be viewed along a continuum reflecting degrees of gay, lesbian, transsexual, bisexual, or heterosexual orientation. By asking participants to self-identify as gay or lesbian faculty, my colleague and I were promoting a static view of sexual orientation, overlooking its inherent fluidity. Furthermore, practicing research across borders by using general categorization is often arbitrary and simplistic, and overlooks the multiple standpoints participants represent.

Even though I was comfortable, theoretically, with the idea of a fluid concept of sexual orientation, in practice I was quite uneasy with it. I felt strongly that it was important for people to know that I was a straight heterosexual male. For example, my lesbian co-researcher and I regularly debated about the importance of outing ourselves when it came time to present this research. I often joked with my colleague that if she did not out herself, I would saunter into the presentation hall like "John Wayne" exhibiting as many stereotypical masculine male characteristics as possible, to ensure that my heterosexual identity would stay in tact. This raised several questions for me: Why was it important to preserve my sexual identity? Was I homophobic? It continued to become more apparent to me that one's sexual orientation was not a neutral concept--its impact could not be discounted when reflecting on one's research or teaching practice. Furthermore, this issue supports the long held axiom when conducting research, that of the importance of researchers becoming self-aware of their personal biases, prejudices and insecurities concerning their research.

As the research project progressed to the data analysis stage, my co-researcher and I found ourselves in conflict over the interpretation of the findings of the study. A good example was demonstrated in how differently we interpreted the data of what was seen as being "out" in the classroom, by the study's participants. My co-researcher identified clothing (e.g. T-shirt proclaiming a gay and lesbian rally), specific cultural symbols (pink triangle), and language (using the term "partner") as relatively explicit examples of being out in the classroom. While, from my perspective, these were implicit, subtle, and privileged insider messages of being gay or lesbian. Even though this disagreement on the surface could be perceived as indicative of what Griffin (1992) refers to as different strategies teachers use to manage outness, I saw it as much more complex. These disparate interpretations of the researchers were due to their positionality (insider/outsider perspectives) in relationship to the research participants. Furthermore, the difference was not a disadvantage; it actually was an advantage since it offered a richer description of the participants' experiences, and aided insights gained in cross-border research.

I also felt initially that this implicit behavior by the teachers in this study demonstrated a lack of authenticity and genuineness, indicative of sitting on the fence and passively and indirectly dealing with issues of their identity in the classroom. This heterosexist assumption of mine sets the backdrop for the final issue: that of acting as knowing of what was best for gay and lesbian faculty. For example, I found myself along with other heterosexual educators, often in trivializing ways, giving advice to my co-researcher about what was in her best interest, particularly in response to knowing when and where to out herself, as if there was little risk or few consequences. This insight was probably the most profound, such that it clearly demonstrates how ignorance is often allied with privilege and power.

Becoming aware of these issues through reflection and on-going dialogue with my co-researcher, I found myself less likely to do what Trinh (1991) refers to as the dominant culture moving "from obnoxious exteriority to obtrusive interiority--namely the pretense to see into or to own the others mind, whose knowledge these others cannot, supposedly, have themselves and the need to define, hence confine, providing them thereby with a standard of self-evaluation on which they necessarily depend" (p. 66). Due to this experience I recognize the tremendous potential of cross-border research, particularly if it is carried out in a manner that is reflective and collaborative with a co-researcher and participants from the non-dominant group. Cross-border research can offer another informed perspective for expressing the voices of those that are often silenced and marginalized.

Scholars' Sexual Stories

Kathleen A. Edwards

Sexual orientation has been primarily a silent story in the academy until very recently. But the Gay rights movement of the past two decades, and the advent of "queer theory" as an interdisciplinary stream of research in the post-structuralist time, have brought the subject of sexuality into the classroom. Adult educators are confronted with sexual orientation as both a personal and a public issue for ourselves and those we teach and learn from on a regular basis. More and more students and faculty are "coming out in the classroom" (Harbeck, 1992) forcing us all to critically reflect on questions of our own private sexual identity, the possibility of prejudice, and the implications of heterosexism as a social and political issue. In addition, the "queer" arena is proving to be a rich source of cutting edge scholarship or "academic outlaws" (Tierney, 1997), working on a wide variety of subjects of importance to adult educators.

This segment of the symposium will focus on one adult educator's personal story as a sexual scholar in the academy. It will utilize Polkinghorne's (1995) theory of a narrative analysis to frame both the private and public implications of sexual stories as scholarship. At issue are personal and policy questions about providing safe space for queer scholarship and scholars, the political implications of sexual difference, and the significance of sexuality as a site to study the intersection of self and society (Brooks & Edwards, 1997).

Hidden From View: Reflections Of Lesbian Practitioners On Abandonment and Inclusion

Brenda Henson and Wanda Henson

The lived experience of being an out Lesbian working in Adult Education in a socially and culturally conservative setting will be explored in terms of its academic, professional and personal effects on all who share in this experience. For some, this experience can be devastating. The isolation created from having no information leading us to the academic and historical discovery of creative programs led by Lesbians, Gay men, Bisexuals, and Transgendered individuals keeps one's peers hidden from view, thus creating a sense of not belonging. The lack of academic support when under attack for one's sexual orientation, whether faculty or student, creates a sense of abandonment by those in one's academic family equal to that often experienced in birth family relationships.

We were both doctoral students at the University of Southern Mississippi; both of us were awarded Masters Degrees in Education in 1992. We took our classes together and our professors knew us as a very proud Lesbian couple. These same professors also knew of our dreams to one day open a Feminist Adult Education and Retreat Center to continue the charitable and educational work of the non-profit organization we co-founded in 1989, Sister Spirit Incorporated. In 1993 our organization purchased 120 acres in Ovett, Mississippi, just 20 miles from the University Campus. Delighted, we shared the news of our dreams coming true with professors and classmates. Then, a letter stolen from our mailbox, intended for Camp Sister Spirit volunteers, revealed to the community (through a newsletter announcement!) that we were Lesbians. The attacks began.

We were eight courses away from our dissertation. In the ensuing year, over 100 hate crimes were committed against us and people sought ways to "drive us from our land" at town meetings. Politicians used us as fodder for their re-election campaigns; national talk shows (Oprah, Jerry Springer, 20/20 and Larry King Live) attempted to enlighten; and the local press distorted the reasons that we bought our land--we lived in fear for our lives! Going to campus was horrible: we experienced hate-filled mean stares from people we didn't know, and giggles in the classroom when our names were called during attendance. In statistics class, the guy in front of us took to wearing "Jesus- message" T-shirts. Silence, not support, was what we received from our instructors. One day on our way to class a women with two small children approached us in the hallway to warn us: two men who worked with her husband at a local power company were plotting to murder us. She was crying and begged us to "get off that land." Brenda was first to take a leave-of-absence from classes. Although Wanda tried to remain in class until the end of the semester, soon her higher order thinking skills became impaired and she withdrew. Survival and "how to protect ourselves" became our focus. We wanted to "make it to the other side of all the violence" and so we planned carefully all that we did. Committed to self-defense, we followed the role model of Black farmers of the 1950's and 1960's--we took four hour shifts staying up and guarding our property and our lives, 24 hours a day. Not fighting back would have made it easy for one of our "neighbors" to kill us. We erected a mile of recycled tin fence, at a cost of $35,000, an electric security gate, and maintained 20-30 volunteers a day.

What did our Adult Education professors or classmates do or say publicly at that time? Nothing! We felt abandoned. No one from the department spoke or wrote letters on our behalf. When two Political Science professors prepared a presentation-paper about what was happening, they chose to use the distorted information from the local newspaper rather than our own words, even though one was a personal friend. An English instructor whom we had never met wrote a letter to the Editor defending our rights as US citizens. Although a story about the violence appeared in our student press, it never mentioned that we were both students on that campus!

We both were active Adult Educators and social transformationists long before coming into the AE program at the University of Southern Mississippi. We hoped that within the program we would meet other like-minded individuals who knew the incredible mix between social justice and Adult Education that has/does occur, creating monumental moments in history. When we received a call from Frank Adams, formerly of the Highlander Education and Research Center, to join a Folk Cooperative School--Marrowbone La Mazorca--we did. At their first meeting, the first order of business was to draft and send a letter to Janet Reno and President Clinton demanding that their Adult Education colleagues be protected. As the newly formed organization "Mississippi for Family Values" held town meetings and raffled guns to raise money for a nuisance law suit against us, it was Frank Adams, Kathleen Rockhill, Lee Karlovich and finally Robert Hill and Phyllis Cunningham that made us know we were an important part of the struggle for human rights and justice. Although we have heard from may colleagues since the early days in 1994, there is still a sense of loss in the absence of personal phone calls from the folks we had worked so closely with for so many years.

In 1996 we were invited by the AERC Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Friends Caucus to attend the meeting in Tampa, Florida. We became so inspired by fellow educators who knew our plight and held sympathy and understanding for and admired what we were doing that we went home and read the *Conference Proceedings* every night. The process inspired us; by the next semester we were back in school. Why? Because we were suddenly blessed to be part of such a culturally rich and diverse community of progressive educators. We had come home. Yet, last year at AERC we experienced heterocentric erasure and homophobia. We thought that AERC was a safespace: we were wrong. Our committment to end homophobia, racism, classism, agism, and anti-semitism in AE is resolute. Only when Adult Education is about democracy will oppression end.

Out of Wanda's 66 professors only two have come out: one came out in the classroom after Wanda came out because she didn't want a student to walk alone. Recently, Wanda's nursing professor, Dr. Pat Gonser, came out, saying, "I've been closeted for four years. Very isolated. I never feared my students knowing, it is just something I did not think to bring up in class...if all the Lesbian faculty would come out, our students would also be much more comfortable with themselves." We agree. Lesbian and Gay students need Lesbian and Gay cultural role models. And, we need our professors to be out.

The reason we chose to be a part of this panel was because we know our story is important--we choose to live our lives never being silent in the face of social injustice. We are now doctoral candidates. What are our chances to become professors in Adult Education? Look around you.

Most Lesbian and Gay professors are closeted. Why? Because it is not safe in the academy to be out. Who will make a safe space for Gay and Lesbian professors?

What is the welcoming stance of this academy? We are out because we refuse to live a dishonest life. We are in love and we choose to share our lives with those around us. For us, social justice will come when non-Lesbian and Gay people choose to create safespaces for us to live and work. Until then, we will make our own. We are blessed to have the road that we are making! Thank you for being here and for hearing Lesbian and Gay voices in Adult Education!

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Talking Across the Table:
A Dialogue on Women, Welfare, and Adult Education

Elisabeth Hayes, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Chair)
Barbara Sparks, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Catherine Hansman, Georgia Southern University
Mechthild Hart, DePaul University
Vanessa Sheared, San Francisco State University

The Issue

Welfare reform is a current societal issue of tremendous significance in the United States. The popular discourses surrounding welfare reform are extremely complex and lead to frequently volatile discussions, for welfare reform itself is not a single issue, but relates to multiple underlying issues concerning the origins and solutions of poverty and unemployment, the subordination of women and women=s roles in society, competing discourses of work and family, the intersections of racism and poverty, and the role of adult education in social change. Welfare reform as a societal issue affects us all as citizens and participants in the U.S. economic and political system. But more specifically, as adult educators, we have a potentially vital role to play as these issues are debated and translated into policy and practice. New policies are having a tremendous impact on the nature of adult education programs for the economically disenfranchised. Further, welfare reform has stimulated nonformal learning and popular education in connection with the work of social action groups, such as the Welfare Warriors, organizing in reaction to reform initiatives. Perhaps most importantly, welfare reform puts forward in a compelling manner the question of adult educators= responsibility to take a proactive role in social change efforts (Cunningham, 1989).

The purpose of this symposium is to clarify multiple and competing perspectives on welfare reform and their implications for adult education research and practice. By juxtaposing these perspectives, we intend to illuminate their differences as well as potential common ground. Based on this discussion, we hope to stimulate greater interest in and more informed action on the part of adult educators concerning issues of welfare reform in the USA. More broadly, we hope that the symposium will provoke further dialogue, reflection, and action related to adult educators= social responsibility in a time of increasing political conservatism.

Competing Perspectives

Four ideological/political perspectives will be represented by the symposium participants. These include the moderate/liberal, the leftist/progressive, the radical feminist, and the Africentric feminist. While we have categorized perspectives in this way for the sake of the discussion, we stress that in reality such perspectives are complex, overlapping, and constantly evolving. The participants= knowledge of the perspectives that they represent is based on a combination of literature review and personal experience with issues of welfare reform and adult education. Each participant has conducted research involving welfare recipients. While each individual has agreed to represent a particular perspective, these are not necessarily the perspectives that they personally hold.

In planning the format for our symposium, we have chosen to avoid a traditional formal paper presentation style in favor of a more interactive, dialogue-oriented format. Accordingly, we plan to conduct the symposium in a Akitchen-table≅ format. The presenters will engage in a dialogue around key questions central to understanding the assumptions underlying each perspective as well as their implications for adult education research and practice. Following the presenters= dialogue, we will raise further questions as a starting point for an open discussion involving the audience.

Implications for Action and Policy

The primary purpose of this symposium is to provide insight, to stimulate reflection and dialogue, rather than to advocate for or develop a particular agenda for policy or practice. However, we do hope that the symposium will prompt the audience as individuals to consider more direct action concerning these issues in their own work. We also hope that the session will lead to further joint efforts on the part of adult education researchers to address welfare reform and other social issues in a more informed, proactive manner.

A Liberal/Moderate Perspective: Stressing Work and Responsibility

Catherine Hansman

Central to a liberal/moderate view of welfare is the idea that the old welfare system has failed not only American society but also welfare recipients because it has not enabled them to get jobs and become contributing members of society. Liberal/moderates, however, do not take the conservative position of the 104th Congress, who wanted to "put poor children in orphanages and take away all help from mothers simply because they were poor, young and unmarried" (Clinton, 1996 p. 41). In contrast, a liberal/moderate view is more represented in the bipartisan welfare reform act of 1996, which "will finally put an end to America's failed welfare system by stressing work and responsibility...(it) enhances the enforcement of child support laws and provides billions of dollars for child care to help mothers on welfare become working mothers" (Clinton, 1996, p. 42).

From a liberal/moderate perspective, then, it is clear that women have the right, privilege, and obligation to work outside the home to support their families, just as men do. Single mothers of small children can and should be gainfully employed in order to stay off of public assistance To help single parents with barriers such as child care and transportation, the government will issue vouchers to cover these expenses (Mandell, 1996). Thus the social responsibility of government assistance is replaced by emphasizing family and individual responsibility: absent parents must pay child support (Clinton, 1996), AFDC recipients must change destructive behavior (Albelda & Tilly, 1997), and single mothers should be encouraged to find husbands or marry the fathers of their children (Rector, 1996). To assure that no one will receive public assistance indefinitely, regulations will limit the amount of time, usually to five years, that people may receive public assistance.

The Welfare-Reform act encourages collaboration between government and individual businesses to develop better strategies to support disadvantaged people in obtaining and maintaining stable employment. Welfare reform will allow the economy, with some governmental help, to create enough jobs so that everyone can join the workforce. Liberal/moderates believe that the government will need to provide some support for disadvantaged populations as they enter the workforce, but with the right incentives, all people should be capable of achieving economic self-sufficiency within a few years. Businesses should create hiring programs to employ former welfare recipients and adopt a tolerant attitude as they adjust to the workforce (Clinton, 1996).

Education and training are essential to enable people to move from welfare into increasingly more highly skilled positions and to earn higher incomes. While education should be made available to all people, particularly those with lower skills, it should not be considered an alternative for employment. Governmental agencies can provide some education to welfare recipients, but individual businesses should provide the specialized education and training opportunities needed by their employees in order perform competently in the workforce . Adult education is obviously an important component of successful welfare reform through collaborative programs with employers to provide training that will support employees in adjusting to the workplace and in turn, performing successfully on the job. Adult educators might also develop programs to help people manage their family lives and responsibilities (Kaplan & Saltiel, 1997) so that these obligations do not interfere with workplace responsibilities.

Economic Injustice Through Welfare Reform:
A Progressive View of the New Social Policy

Barbara Sparks

Progressive or leftist perspectives regarding the reform of the welfare system have broadened the issues beyond those of self sufficiency and even beyond those of poverty to include issues of economic justice, health care and taxes. Those most directly affected by the welfare reform movement are primarily poor people of color, women, and the poorest of the poor. While there are serious problems that must be dealt with to alleviate the stresses of poverty, such as family-supporting jobs, high quality child care, reliable shelter and regular meals, welfare is not the central concern of most progressive thought.

Rather, it is larger system structures such as the class-based economy that require attention, that require restructuring and reform if justice is to be served. According to Dujon and Withorn (1996, p. 387), with the growing world economy "it is important to understand the >necessities= of structural reductions in the workforce, the limits and social outcomes of a service economy, the isolation of computerized off-site workplaces, and a global decline in wages" in exposing and rectifying the increasing disparity of wealth distribution, the world economy, and economic injustice.

The multiple economic, social, and political crises of the United States are indicators that the system is not working; the need to "end welfare as we know it" as stated by Clinton is but another indication of this failure. These system crises are being managed by the capitalist state through interventions which blur the lines between the public and the private spheres of life. The management of welfare reform is one example of this new level of systems management (Habermas, 1975).

There is a change in the relationship between the state and its citizens. The state is gaining controlling interest in more of the private sector decisions such as families, home values, and individual job choice. Such interventions have created the new social client, the welfare recipient (Fraser, 1989), regulated by the state through inner colonization as she becomes the citizen mother/citizen worker (Polakov, 1994). Triple public demands of mother, worker, and now, student trainee are imposed by the state thus stripping recipients of their capacities to determine their own needs, undermining their desires, and leaving them with destablized identities. Yet in the face of these demands the state has abdicated its responsibility and dumped everything from food to shelter to volunteer work experience opportunities onto charities and local communities. Employability, a key concept of welfare reform, is determined by the state. Recipients are determined to be employable if they have marketable skills, regardless of whether or not they have the skills needed in the local marketplace or if those skills will command a family-supporting job. This results in the tracking of recipients into low-skilled, low-paying female-typed occupations, creating a new supply of cheap labor and not allowing women beyond what is perceived to be their position. Fraser (1989) explains the dismantling of welfare as the emergence of a new social movement "at the seam of system and lifework."

From a progressive viewpoint, what role can adult education play? In an interview with Ehrenreich (1997), Piven calls for a program of documentation, monitoring how the states are regulating the lives of the new social client, i.e., the women and families on welfare, and publicizing what is happening to the poor. Adult educators must also agitate for changing social structures as they seek to expose the multiple economic, social, and political crises as indications that the system is not working.

Welfare Reform: Making Invisible Work Visible and Invisible Again A Perspective Related to Radical Feminism

Mechthild Hart

> Contemporary attacks on women have blended historical strains of racism, misogyny, and class bias into an unusually potent brew. Aimed particularly at black women, single women, and poor women on welfare, the attacks have handily condensed all three categories into the encompassing figure of 'the' black single mother on welfare.
>
> Patricia Williams, *The Rooster's Egg* (1995, p. 4)

On the surface, the history of welfare laws and policies is full of contradictions, all of them pivoting around different kinds of relationships between jobs and the unpaid work of raising children. In the past, white full-time mothers who were married to property-owning husbands were seen as the arbiters of good mothering. Today, upper-class women are praised for leaving their corporate jobs in order to become full-time mothers. In the past, wage earning was pitted against motherhood, and income-earning working class women were viewed with hostility by maternalist reformers. Today, this hostility is manifested in the relative absence of good child care facilities, or in wages which are too small to pay for decent child care. In the past, immigrant women were seen as culturally deficient but reformable mothers. Today they are mainly part of the profitable working poor. The history of Black mothers illustrates how economic exploitation is fully interlaced with racism. During slavery Black people were extremely cheap laborers, and Black mothers were doubly profitable by producing more slaves. Later, Black mothers were excluded from early welfare programs, but when they became eligible--due to tremendous political struggles--the myth of cultural deficiency flourished anew.

Although having children is still considered a woman's true calling, poor, single, and especially Black women are vilified for having them. Once the work of raising children goes public by requiring public assistance because private resources are not available, the welfare mother's private life becomes open to public eyes--in a controlling, surveilling way. Mandating the insertion of Norplant, or enforcing a "family cap" (Roberts 1997) are just some of the ways the political public is intruding in these women's lives.

Moreover, the fate of the children already born is irrelevant because they are not really needed as future wage laborers. While they are part of a growing surplus population their mothers become desperate, cheap laborers who therefore greatly benefit the bottom line. Today business and government are joining hands in forcing women off welfare in order to take any lousy job. This is how immoral mothers can reform themselves, thereby living up to the true meaning of "welfare reform."

What kind of educational processes could help us and the people we come in contact with to look at the work of raising children in its own right? How can education contribute to learning to think about the future in a way which is not submerged in the toxic stream of racist and sexist bottom-line thinking? Clearly, these processes would have to be extremely complex as they would force us to invent a new way of thinking, develop a new language for naming our opposition to the system, and take small but concrete steps towards thinking, feeling and acting in the world in a different ways.

Welfare Reform: Who is Deserving? An Africentric Perspective

Vanessa Sheared

There are approximately 5 million families with an estimated 9.5 million children that receive aid to families with dependent children. The welfare system in the United States was established under the Social Security Act of 1935. It began as a way to provide women and children with aid as a result of their husband=s and father=s death. It initially began as a way to provide cash assistance to needy families. The public assistance program was seen as a stop-gap measure until a woman either got married or her children left home. While this gesture was intended to assist families in need, the primary focus of these funds were intended for white women and their children. From an Africentric perspective, part of the tension concerning who receives welfare is entangled not only in gender, but also in race and class. Moreover, a larger issue in the debate on welfare reform, (one which often is ignored) is the question concerning who deserves to receive welfare assistance? This is a question that the earlier legislators had a difficult time with as they established laws concerning welfare assistance, and one which remains with us today.

As early as the 1940s, southern legislators as well as some northerners pondered the question of who should receive public assistance. Suitable home, substitute parent, and seasonal employment laws were passed to decrease the number of women, African Americans and nonwhites in particular, that could receive assistance. These laws had a significantly adverse effect on African American women as well as other non-white families. Moreover they began to have what many considered an adverse effect on whether families remained intact (father, mother, and children), as many men began to leave their homes in hopes of giving their families an opportunity to obtain financial assistance. During the 1940s and 1950s issues concerning race, morality, and eligibility became the focal points of discussions for legislators as they grappled with ways to limit the number of people receiving aid and at the same time continued to provide for needy families.

From the 1960s onward legislative measures were passed to aid entire families in order to keep families together, and at the same time education and training was offered to help these families become self-sufficient. While these measures have had some positive effects, they continue to be criticized and considered failures as the numbers of welfare recipients have increased rather than decreased.

Recent welfare reform initiatives have taken a very high profile in the media as well as the larger society. It is ironic that many of the images projected in the media are ones of black women and children, while very little emphasis is given to white women and children. Often in news accounts we see black women and children whenever there is any discussion on the misuse and abuse of the welfare system. In many ways this is just a different tactic used to suggest to the larger public that the people receiving public assistance, in this case black women and children are non-deserving.

While the question about who deserves welfare, might seem unimportant to adult educators in general, it is one that adult basic and vocational educators need to recognize. Unless this question is addressed, women on welfare and African American women in particular will continue to contend with models and programs that only in part address their needs and issues. Even though these programs provide services that address basic and employment skills for these women, they often do so with a "blaming the victim" mentality. If these women are going to obtain economic, as well as political parity, adult educators must address issues of race, class, and gender. Adult education programs that focus on these connecting realities as well as politics and economics, can began to offer policy makers with ways to end welfare as we know it. To do so will also require that adult educators, as well as others address the larger issue of how do we - or when should we - or what type of economic support should we provide for all?

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